

A POLITICAL AND CULTURAL
HISTORY OF INDIA

VOLUME I: TO A. D. 1200

SECOND EDITION
REVISED AND ENLARGED

PART II: A. D. 600 TO 1200

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The second edition of *A College Text Book of Indian History* Vol I (1940) appears now under the title of *A Political and Cultural History of India*, Vol I. It has been thoroughly revised and made quite up to date and the important books published during the past four years have been utilised in the revision. It is supplied with a fresh set of nine maps on improved lines and with a Select Bibliography. Above all its size has been increased by material additions to the following subjects — the Indus civilisation Aryan origins the epic age the gospel of the Buddha and the part played by Buddhism in the cultural history of India Asoka date of Kanishka Mahayanism the Bhagavadgita, Itsing Art and Education

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A POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA

VOL I TO A D 1200

CHAPTER VII

INDIA FROM 600 TO 900

SECTION I HARSHA OF THANESAR AND KANAUJ (606—647) SOURCES

Authorities The history of the Guptas based mostly on epigraphical numismatic and monumental evidences suffers from many *lacunae* owing to the paucity of literary materials. The fullness of Harsha's history is indebted to two works each unique in its own line. His epigraphs and those of his contemporaries provide only supplementary information to a limited extent his coins whose existence is denied by some do not take us far and Tibetan and Chinese sources elucidate particularly the closing years of his reign. Therefore the historian's almost exclusive reliance in his study of Harsha is on the literary authorities—the *Harshacharita* of Bana (or Bana bhatta) and the *Travels* of the Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsang coupled with his biography composed by his friend and compatriot Hwui li.

Bana The days are gone when the *Harshacharita* (Life of Harsha) of Bana was disparaged as a source of history. Though it is only a fragment written in the style of a romance by an enthusiastic admirer of Harsha it should be recognised that Bana knew his hero intimately a gifted man like himself. He was an accurate observer of men and things, and therefore his work is full of vivid descriptions of social life and of varied localities and enables us to put our finger on the pulse of the period to which it belongs. There is historical matter even in some of his punning references. He does not like writers

of romance, reconstruct an epoch. Since he chose a contemporary subject of general interest and treated it in a way suited to his age he could not have departed much from the truth. He indulges in flattery and exaggeration but does not tell an untruth. In fact in this respect, he is not different from Hsuen Tsang. The high value of his work for historical purposes is now generally understood.

The Harshacharita Contents. The *Harshacharita* is an incomplete history of Harsha in eight chapters. The first chapter is concerned with the family of its author and the introductory verses are of great value for literary chronology as they mention a number of works and authors anterior to Bana. The *Vasavadatta*, *Satavahana* (Hal), *Pravarasena*, *Bhasa*, *Kalidasa* and the *Brihatkatha*. The second chapter deals with Bana's introduction to Harsha. The third chapter contains a description of Sthanvisvara (Thanesar). The next chapter traces the ancestry of Harsha from Pushpaluti (Pushyabhuti) and gives details about Prabhakaravardhana, his queen Yasomati, the births of Rajyavardhana, Harsha and Rajvasri, their companion and uncle Bhundi and Rajvasri's marriage. The fifth chapter describes Yasomati's voluntary death a little before her husband passed away and Harsha's inconsolable grief. The following chapter deals with the reaction of the king's death on Rajyavardhana who had been away from the capital to war with the Huns and who on his return home refused to step into his father's place and asked Harsha to shoulder the royal burden. The death of Grahavarman Mankhari and imprisonment of Rajvasri by the king of Malwa, Rajyavardhana's punitive expedition against him, his easy success and his assassination by the king of Gauda (Sasanka), the request of Simhanda, the Commander in Chief, to Harsha to abandon grief and return to action. Harsha's solemn resolve to wipe off the earth the race of vipers like the king of Gauda and the enumeration of Skandagupta, commandant of the ele

phant-corps whose nose was as long as his sovereign's pedigree, of the various instances of disastrous carelessness the chief of them being the deaths of Brihadratha (Maurva) Kakavarna (Saisunaga), the last Sunga, and the last of the Western Satraps. The penultimate chapter describes the grand military move of Harsha the embassy from Bhaskaravarman of Assam the report of Bhandi to Harsha regarding Rajyasri's escape from prison and flight to the Vindhvas with a few followers Bhandi's commission to advance against the Gauda ruler and Harsha's march in search of his sister The last chapter contains a wonderful description of the many religious and philosophical sects living in harmony in the Vindhvan forest under the headship of the Buddhist sage Divakaramitra paints the pitiable condition of Rajyasri about to immolate herself and her rescue by Harsha and mentions the latter's resolve to become a Buddhist ascetic along with his sister after avenging the deaths of his brother-in-law and brother and his return to the imperial camp on the bank of the Ganges with Rajyasri and Divakaramitra

Historical Value The value of the *Harshacharita* is difficult to appreciate fully from a short summary 'It is as much based on real events as Scott's *Quentin Durward* or *Waterley*' Its basis and its main episodes are historical it is the treatment of the subject that is romantic—mixing up of history and romance 'The court, the camp the quiet villages and the still more quiet monasteries and retreats whether of Brahmans or Buddhists are all painted with singular power and his (Banab's) narrative illustrates and supplements the Chinese traveller's journal at every turn The book is full of Sanskrit lore of every kind *

Hsuen Tsang Life and Character Hsuen Tsang (or Yuan Chwang) the Master of the Law (of the Buddha)

* Cowell and Thomas. *The Harshacharita of Bana* (1866)
Preface pp VII XI and XIV

was born in 600 and his childhood gave unmistakable signs of his later greatness. He shunned gay society, devoted his time to serious study and became a Buddhist monk at the age of twenty. Dissatisfied with the Chinese translations of the Buddhist scriptures, he yearned for contact with the holy land of his faith. Setting aside the passport regulations of his country, he stealthily left Sian for India in 629 and after extensive travels returned home in 645. He was in Kashmir during 631—2, at Kanauj in 636, at Nalanda in 637, in the Andhradesa in 639, at Kanchi in 640, in Maharashtra in 641, at Nalanda again in 642—3 and in the United Provinces with Harsha in 643 and left India in 644. The emperor forgave his fault, became intimate with him and offered to take him into the imperial service. But Hsuen Tsang declined the offer with thanks and retired to a monastery to translate his Indian collection into Chinese. Till his death in 664 he knew not a moment of idleness. He was prodigiously learned, extremely pious and truly great and his compatriots worshipped him after his death. In spite of his manifold virtues, he was credulous in matters of Buddhist miracle. His interest in life was confined to Buddhism. Therefore he failed as a critical observer of men and things. But all this may be regarded as the defects of his own qualities.

Value of the Itinerary. Unlike Fa hien, Hsuen Tsang travelled throughout India and returned by the land route through which he had come. He remained in Harsha's Empire for eight years and made better use of his opportunities than had been possible for his illustrious predecessor in Indian travel. His account of what he saw and heard in this country deals not only with Harsha and his administration, but also with the condition of India in the first half of the seventh century. The indebtedness to it of the historian is really great. regard being had to the amount of information gleaned by Hsuen Tsang on the various

aspects of Indian life his account is incomparably superior to the *Harshacharita*. But it is sketchy in many places and can never approach the concentrated observation and descriptive power enshrined in Bana's biography of Harsha. His credulity made him the victim of story-tellers though we are glad that he was inclined to record the traditions that came to his ears. It was Harsha's Buddhist proclivities that drew to him the Master of the Law, who was therefore more lucky than Fa hien. Like Bana, he praises the emperor unreservedly. "His qualifications moved heaven and earth, his sense of justice was admired by the gods and men. His renown spread abroad everywhere. To describe all his conduct would be to tell again the deeds of Sudana (the hero of a Buddhist *Jataka* story). He forgot sleep and food in his devotion to good works." His reference to Harsha's 60,000 elephants is suspicious. His statement that the emperor, after six years of campaigning at the commencement of his reign enjoyed uninterrupted peace for thirty years, "without raising a weapon", requires modification. But these defects are nothing when we consider the wealth of reliable information he places at our disposal.

SECTION II HARSHA'S CAREER AND EMPIRE

of nineteen. The Malwa king in league with Sasanka of Bengal compassed the death of Grahavarman Maukharī, the husband of Rajyasri. Rajyavardhana led a punitive expedition against the ruler of Malwa and defeated him, but was treacherously slain in 606 by Sasanka. Harsha was then sixteen years old (born in 590—calculated on the basis of Bana's data) and his widowed sister thirteen years of age. We are told that Harsha accepted the throne at the instance of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara and of the Goddess of Royal Prosperity, according to Hsuen Tsang and Bana respectively, and both authorities agree in saying that Harsha was at first reluctant to shoulder the responsibility of kingship. We do not know when exactly Harsha's love of Buddhism began, Bana says after his conquests. Mr C. V. Vaidya rightly points out that Harsha's initial unwillingness to ascend the throne refers to the throne of Kanauj (Kanyakubja or "hunch backed girl" Mahodaya etc.) after Grahavarman's death.

Pursuit of Rajyasri. At the outset of his royal career, Harsha was placed in a peculiarly difficult position. He had not only to avenge the murders of his brother-in-law and brother, but also to find out his sister who had fled to the Vindhyan forest without brooking the restraint of her imprisonment by the enemies of her late husband. He went first in pursuit of Rajyasri, discovered her when she was about to commit *anumarana* (self-immolation after her husband's death) and dissuaded her from her grim resolve. Though Bana embellishes her story, there are no reasons for suspecting its main outlines. Subsequent to the recovery of his accomplished sister who was a devout Buddhist, Harsha set about the task of subduing his enemies. By 612 his imperial position had been firmly established and his army immensely strengthened. He was warlike to the core and later when he distributed all his possessions in charity, he would not weaken his army in any manner. The end of the period of continuous

warfare witnessed his coronation and the foundation of an era starting from his accession to the throne in 606

Conflict with Pulakesin II Though a high minded man Harsha does not say that he was defeated by Pulakesin II Chalukya because it was not customary to record failures so much so that inscriptions sometimes support contradictory claims. In evaluating epigraphical testimony we come across such difficulties. But in the present case we possess the evidence of Hsien Tsang who says in his *Travels* 'The great king Siladitya (Harsha) at this time was invading East and West and countries far and near were giving in allegiance to him but Maharashtra refused to become subject to him'. The biographer of the pilgrim records 'Siladitya raja boasting of his skill and the invariable success of his generals, filled with confidence himself, marched at the head of his troops to contend with this prince but he was unable to prevail or subjugate him (although) he had gathered troops from the five Indies (the Panjab Kanauj Mithila Bengal and Orissa) and the best generals from all countries. Corroborative evidence of Pulakesin's triumph is supplied by many of his inscriptions which describe him as one who earned the title of *Paramesvara* by defeating Harsha

mentions Pulakesin's title of *Paramesvara*,* whereas some others would advocate a much later date, about 630 †

Last years of Harsha About 635 Dhruvasena II of Valabhi was defeated and reduced to vassalage by Harsha who, however, gave his daughter in marriage to him. In 641 Harsha sent an embassy to China. The year 643 witnessed his campaign against Kongoda (Ganjam District), the unique honour he bestowed on Hiuen Tsang, the attempt on his own life and a Chinese mission to him. He could not receive the second Chinese embassy sent to him in 646. His death in 647 and the subsequent ministerial usurpation produced internal confusion and a serious clash with the party of Chinese envoys who ultimately dealt severely with the usurper with the help of Tibet and Nepal.

Extent of the Empire The territory administered by Harsha seems to have been a little more extensive than that of the Guptas. It stretched from the Brahmaputra delta to Kathiawar, including a part of Orissa in the east and Cutch in the west and to Jalandhara in the Panjab, including perhaps Nepal, but excluding Rajputana, Sindh and a large part of the Panjab. Therefore it was almost confined to Northern India without embracing the whole of it. The inclusion of Nepal in it is doubted by some scholars but the possible use of his era there may be regarded as *prima facie* evidence of its possession by Harsha. The southern boundary of the Vindhya was fixed by Pulakesin II. But an inscription recently discovered in the Shimoga District (Mysore) says that 'while Siladitya, the light of the quarters the most powerful and a thorn in the way of the bravest ascended the throne of the empire', his general fought against Mahendra and died: the two kings are identified by some with Harsha and Mahendragurman I Pallava. If this

* R. I. Mookerji *Harsha* (1926) p. 36n.

† R. S. Tripathi *History of Kanauj* (1937) p. 129.

identification were well founded, our idea of the extent of Harsha's Empire must undergo a radical revision. Bhaskaravarman of Assam was the friend and ally of Harsha whose relations with some rulers of North-Western India and with China were cordial.

The Lord of Gauda. Though Sasanka's aggressions were curbed by Harsha's martial activities, and thus vengeance was taken on the murderer of his brother, they seem to have been circumscribed rather than eradicated. In a Ganjam inscription, dated 619 of his feudatory, Sasanka is styled *Maharajadhiraja* and his gold coins with the image of Siva and Nandi indicate his importance till 637, the date of his death. The Ganjam expedition of Harsha in 643 was apparently connected with the death of the great adversary of his family. Sasanka was *Gaudadhipati*, or Lord of Gauda (kingdoms of Karna suvarna and Pundravardhana—Central and Northern Bengal), for at least seventeen years according to the *Arya Manjusri Mulakalpa*. A few attempts have been made to vindicate him from the charge of treacherously murdering Rajavardhana and of persecuting Buddhism to the extent of uprooting the Bodhi tree*.

SECTION III HARSHA AND BUDDHISM

The Turning Point. Pushyabhuti was a worshipper of Siva, Prabhakaravardhana and his father Adityavardhana adored the Sun. Rajavardhana and Rajvasri were Buddhists. Bana says that on the eve of his *digvijaya*, Harsha worshipped Nilalohita (Siva). The Ban-khera inscription of 628 describes him as a *Parimita Mahesvara*. The Madhubani record of 631 says that he was a devotee of Mahesvari "who like Mahesvari is compassionate to all created beings" and concludes with the following remarkable passage: "Gifts and the pro-

* R. C. Vajumdar *History of Bengal I* (1913) pp. 59-68 and 71-6 contra R. G. Basak *op. cit.*, Chapter VII.

tection of the fame of others are the result of fortune that is unstable like lightning or a water bubble. With deeds, thoughts and words living beings should do their duty. Harsha has declared that an unsurpassable mode of acquiring spiritual merit.' Here perhaps we have the turning point of his religious life. His Buddhist leanings in the early part of his reign are vouched for by Brh̥m̐ while Hiuen Tsang would make him a Buddhist, at the commencement of his reign with the title of Śīladitya. There is no doubt that, during the latter part of his life, he became an ardent Hinayanist and was transformed into a Mahayanist by his contact with the Chinese pilgrim. He compelled the king of Kashmir to part with a tooth relic of the Buddha and duly housed it.

Religious Policy Harsha's religious policy is well recapitulated by Hiuen Tsang. "He caused the use of animal food to cease throughout the Five Indies and he prohibited the taking of life under severe penalties. He erected thousands of *topes* (*stupas*) on the banks of the Ganges, established Travellers Rests through all his dominions, and erected Buddhist monasteries at sacred places of the Buddhists. He regularly held the Quinquennial Convocation and gave away in religious alms everything except the material of war. Once a year he summoned all the Buddhist monks together and for 21 days supplied them with the regulation requisites. He furnished the chapels and liberally adorned the common halls of the monasteries. He brought the Brethren together for examination and discussion giving rewards and punishments according to merit and demerit. Those Brethren who kept the rules of their Order strictly and were thoroughly sound in theory and practice he advanced to the Lion's throne (*Simhasana*) and from these he received religious instruction; those who though perfect in the observance of the ceremonial code were not learned in the past he merely honoured with formal reverence; those who neglected the ceremonial observances

of the Order and whose immoral conduct was notorious, were banished from his presence and from the country. The neighbouring princes and the statesmen who were zealous in good works and unwearied in the search for moral excellence he led to his own seat and called (them his) good friends and he would not converse with those who were of a different character. He did not go abroad during the three months of the Rain season Retreat. At the royal lodges every day viands were provided for 1000 Buddhist monks and 500 Brahmins. The king's day was divided into three periods, of which one was given up to affairs of government and two were devoted to religious works. * It is incorrect to describe Harsha as an eclectic in religion. His career in spite of his interminable campaigns, is strongly reminiscent of that of Asoka. His passion for religious discussion does not resemble the intellectual earnestness of Akbar the free-thinker but the spiritual fervour of the great religious propagandists of ancient India. A Syrian Christian is reported to have gone to Harsha's court in 639 but this is called in question by some scholars.

The Kanauj Assembly Harsha met Huen Tsang in Benaul on his return from the Canjam campaign in 643 and decided to honour him by holding a religious assembly of all denominations at Kanauj. It was attended by 20 kings, 1000 scholars from the University of Nalanda, 3000 Hinayanists and Mahayanists and 3000 Brahmins and Jains. A grand procession was conducted and a statue of the Buddha was enthroned. The proceedings began with Huen Tsang's exposition of Mahayanism and the announcement of a thesis for discussion in the challenging words characteristic of the age that the Master of the Law offered his own head as the reward of a successful refutation of his thesis. No opponents came forward during the first five days but Harsha on learn-

* T. Watters *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* I (1904) p. 344

that Hiuen Tsang's life was in danger, owing to the underhand methods of his antagonists, proclaimed severe penalties for any violence to the pilgrim. The conference went on for twenty three days on the whole, and on the final day, arson and attempted assassination of Harsha disgraced the proceedings. On the strength of the confessions of 500 Brahman conspirators they were exiled. Hiuen Tsang was loaded with costly presents by Harsha and his feudatories, but the pilgrim declined them with thanks. The assembly concluded with a procession with Hiuen Tsang on elephant back, much against his own will, in order to mark the triumph of the Mahayanism expounded by him.

The Allahabad Conference Hiuen Tsang was invited to attend the sixth quinquennial gathering of Harsha's reign for distribution of charity and religious festivities at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna. The Buddha, the Sun god and Siva were honoured with festivities and distribution of gifts to about half a million people during seventy five days belonging to all religions in "the Five Indies". We are told that all the savings of Harsha during the past five years were exhausted and that though he was reduced to beggary, he was extremely happy that "his treasure had been bestowed in the field of religious merit". Finally the Chinese pilgrim started on his homeward journey with a few of the many presents showered upon him by Harsha and his feudatory *rajās* and with his grand collection of many relics and innumerable images of the Buddha and hundreds of manuscripts, some of which he lost in the course of his journey, which was doubly adventurous owing to his occasional encounters with robbers.

SECTION IV ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE

Royal Activity Though the inscriptions of the age of Harsha and those of his elder and younger contem-

poraries give us some knowledge of the mechanism of his government in conformity with the Gupta organisation its character and spirit we can learn from no other authority than Hsuen Tsang who describes in general the Indian government of his time and also the administration of his imperial patron "He was just in his administration and punctilious in the discharge of his duties. The king made visits of inspection throughout his dominion not residing long at any place but having temporary buildings erected for his residence at each place of sojourn. He was indefatigable and the day was too short for him"* Harsha was thus famous not only for his warlike activity but also for his administrative vigilance. Such frequent royal peregrinations were doubly necessary owing to the partial insecurity of the roads to which Hsuen Tsang was the victim now and then and because of the multiplicity of political difficulties environing Harsha. The establishment of an empire and the effective conduct of its government must be regarded as his *tour de force*.

Revenue System Hsuen Tsang was much impressed with the good intentions of the government and its earnestness in promoting the people's welfare "As the Government is generous official requirements are few. Families are not registered and individuals are not subject to forced labour contributions. Of the royal land there is a four fold division. One part is for the expenses of government and state worship one for the endowment of great public servants one to reward high intellectual eminence and one for requiring religious merit by gifts to the various sects. Taxation being light and forced service being sparingly used every one keeps to his hereditary occupation and attends to his patrimony. The king's tenants pay one sixth of the produce as rent. Tradesmen go to and fro bartering their merchandise

after paying light duties at ferries and barrier stations. Those who are employed in the government service are paid according to their work. Ministers of state and common officials all have their portion of land, and are maintained by the cities assigned to them.*

Criminal Justice Hiuen Tsang's account of the administration of criminal justice shows that the cruel punishments of the Maurya age continued in the seventh century. He mentions four ordeals employed to determine the guilt or innocence of the alleged culprits—by water, fire, weighing and poison, extremely barbarous and horribly superstitious. But 'as the government is honestly administered and the people live together on good terms, the criminal class is small. The statute law is sometimes violated and plots made against the sovereign, when the crime is brought to light, the offender is imprisoned for life, he does not suffer any corporal punishment, but alive and dead he is not treated as a member of the community. For offences against social morality and disloyal and unfilial conduct the punishment is to cut off the nose or an ear or a hand, or a foot, or to banish the offender to another country or into the wilderness. Other offences can be atoned for by a money payment.†

Army Hiuen Tsang mentions the *chaturanga* (four limbs) of the army—foot, horse, chariot and elephant, and the place of honour is assigned to the last division, the Commander in Chief riding on an elephant. But in detailing the strength of Harsha's army there is no mention of chariots by Hiuen Tsang. Nor is there any reference to them by Banu. Hence it is probable that Harsha relied on the efficiency of the other three "limbs" of his army. We are told by the pilgrim that "the National Guard are heroes of choice valour and as the

* *Ibid* pp 176-77

† *Ibid* pp 171-72

profession is hereditary, they become adepts in military tactics. In peace they guard the sovereign's residence, and in war they become the intrepid vanguard. The infantry go lightly into action and are perfect experts with all the implements of war such as spear, shield, bow and arrow, sword, sabre, etc. having been drilled in them for generations."^{*}

Public Records. A remarkable feature of the government organisation, rather too briefly alluded to by Hsien Tsang, is the attention bestowed upon public records. "As to their (of the Indians) archives and records there are separate custodians of these. The official annals and state-papers are called collectively *nīloputu* (dark blue store), in these good and bad are recorded and instances of public calamity and good fortune are set forth in detail"[†]. In spite of such care taken in the preservation of official documents, it is surprising that no true Indian historian appeared before the twelfth century.

Economic Condition. The guild organisation is mentioned by Hsien Tsang and Banua and the luxurious life of the court testifies to the progress made in the arts and crafts. Much improvement in town planning is recorded, though the public streets were not sufficiently wide. Storeyed buildings and furniture were in great variety. Though Pataliputra had declined, other great cities came into existence or continued to flourish—Thanesar, Mathura, Kanauj, Allahabad, Avodhya, Benares, Tamruk, etc. Gold and silver coins, cowries and small pearls constituted the media of exchange. Inland trade was facilitated by light duties as noted by Hsien Tsang. This was a great period of Indian transmarine colonisation and cultural diffusion, and of commercial contact with South Eastern Asia.

^{*} *Ibid.* p. 171.

[†] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

Harsha's court Besides the biography of his patron, he wrote the *Kadambari*, his masterpiece, a great romance superior to Subandhu's *Vasavadatta* in some respects. It is a cycle of stories with a complicated structure. Bana's style is greatly admired by Indian critics, while Western criticism follows the hostile lead of Weber. Anyhow his poetic merit and his descriptive and dramatic power are undeniable—his account of the death of Prabhakara vardhana. He is also regarded by some as the author of the play, the *Partatiparinaya* and of the *Chandisataka*. His brother-in-law (father-in-law, according to another version) Mayura is the author of an erotic *ashṭaka* (a collection of eight stanzas), in which his mastery of the *Kamasutra* is exhibited. Tradition says that his daughter regarded that composition as directed against herself and cursed her father, who consequently became afflicted with leprosy, and that in this predicament he composed the *Suryasataka*, a very popular work, and was rid of that loathsome disease. There are now pious people in this country who believe that the recital of that *Sataka* will cure leprosy. Another literary figure at Harsha's court was Matanga Divakara. Though the unique poet-philosopher-grammarian Bhartrihari lived in the first half of the seventh century we do not know whether he came into contact with Harsha.

Sylvan Asramas Intellectual activity in sylvan *asramas* was characteristic of ancient India. Bana gives a picture of the *asrama* of the Buddhist sage Divakaramitra full of representatives of numerous sects living in perfect harmony and pursuing their proper studies. Harsha saw there "Buddhists from various provinces devotees dead to all passion Jains in white robes white mendicants (Brahmanical ascetics in white robes), followers of Krishna Brahmarshis (pupils), ascetics who pulled out their hair followers of Kapila (founder of Sankhya philosophy), atheists followers of Kanada

(founder of Vaiseshika philosophy), Vedantins, Naiyayikas (logicians) philosophers of elements (*Dhātuvāda*), Dharmasastras, Paurāṇikas, ritualists, grammarians, Pancharatrikas (a Vaiṣṇava sect) and others, all diligently following their own tenets, pondering, urging objections raising doubts, resolving them, giving etymologies disputing studying and explaining”

Reputation of Indian Scholars Hiuen Tsang credits the people of the Middle Country with clearness and correctness in speech, and regards their pronunciation as admirable. He mentions five subjects taught to boys from the age of seven grammar, mechanical arts, medicine, logic and *adhyatmaśāstra* or philosophy. He refers to the perseverance of the teachers who “instruct the inert and sharpen the dull.” His account of the truly great scholars is worthy of note. “There are men who fond of the refinements of learning are content in seclusion leading lives of continence. These promenade through life away from human affairs. Their fame is far spread. The rulers treating them with ceremony and respect cannot make them come to court. Now as the State holds men of learning and genius in esteem, and the people respect those who have high intelligence the honours and praises of such men are conspicuously abundant and the attentions private and official paid to them are very considerable. With them there is honour in knowing truth, and there is no disgrace in being destitute.”*

University of Nalanda Though Hiuen Tsang mentions a number of educational centres (monasteries devoted to religion and learning) the most famous of them all were the Hinayana University of Valabhi and the Mahayana University of Nalanda (near Rajgir about 60 miles from Gaya). The latter achieved more than an

* *Ibid.*, pp. 160-61

Indian reputation and our knowledge of it is respectable, though it is not mentioned by I a huen or Bana Huen Tsang gives a short but highly valuable account of it and I tsing deals with it both Chinese pilgrims visiting it in the course of their travels in India in the seventh century. Identifying Huen Tsang's *Salarditva* with Kumāragupta I Mahendraditva, the foundation of the University may be assigned to the middle of the fifth century.

Patrons and Professors The University of Nalanda was patronised by Kumāragupta I and a number of his successors and by Harsha who built a monastery there and supported the University in other ways. The term *Pandita* was used to denote a Professor as well as the head of the University. The most famous Professors were Dignaga Sthiramati Dharmapala and Silabhadra. Dharmapala a citizen of Kauchli became the Vice-Chancellor of Nalanda and was a great writer on Buddhist logic and metaphysics. He was a famous controversialist and exponent of Mahāyānism. He was succeeded by Silabhadra who belonged to Samatara or delta of the Brahmaputra and it was during his period of office that Huen Tsang visited Nalanda and received the kind attentions of that great *Pandita*. Harsha applied to him for four scholars well versed in the doctrines of Silabhadra by his learning and character achieved a solid reputation. The tradition connecting Nagarjuna Aryadeva Asanga and Vasubandhu with the Nalanda University is not reliable. Huen Tsang and I tsing may be treated as its *alumni*.

Studies and Students Though a Buddhist University in the curriculum of studies intended for non Buddhists as well Brahmanical subjects like the *Vedas* were included. The other subjects taught were the Mahayana the eighteen Hinayana schools Logic, Grammar Sankhya Yoga Medicine, Astronomy and Tantra including Art

Nalanda where he lived for ten years, it emphasises grammar and is of prime value for literary history. The contribution of Nalanda to Sanskrit Literature is substantial. We saw that 1000 representatives of the University attended the Kanauj assembly of Harsha and the exodus of Nalanda Panditas to other parts of Asia produced far reaching consequences. In short the University of Nalanda was a teaching, residential unitary research and international University. It possessed an Observatory* and a great library housed in three grand buildings. The seal of the University shows the *Dharmaclara* and two gazelles on either side of it. The Nalanda University was not only a collection of books (Carlyle) but also a place of higher learning attracting students from a large part of the world and contributing to the advance of knowledge (Newman).

Art The monuments of Harsha's age though very few continue the Gupta style. Hsuen Tsang describes the glory of the monasteries and temples of Nalanda with their many storeys and a copper statue of the Buddha eight feet in height. To some extent Harsha contributed to the artistic enrichment of Nalanda which was largely due to Purnavarmān the Buddhist ruler of Magadha. The brick temple of Lakshmana at Sirpur (Raipur District the Central Provinces), "one of the most beautiful in all India unsurpassed in the richness and refinement of its ornament," is assigned to the period of Harsha.

SECTION VI HARSHA'S GREATNESS

Harsha's Achievements Political and Administrative. Harsha conformed to the precept of royal activity laid down in the *Arthashastra* and followed by great sovereigns like Asoka and Samudragupta. He was a man of many wars and his allegiance to Buddhism did not cool down

* H. D. Sankalia *The University of Nalanda* (1924) p. 85

his martial ardour. After his preliminary conquests he strengthened his military equipment, and his charity did not lead to the emasculation of his army. His early domestic tragedies stimulated him to redoubled exertions and ended in the erection of an extensive empire. He was not like Samudragupta an undefeated general but his enemies were Pulakesin II and Sasanka. Though the record of his conquests was broken by a failure and though Sasanka flourished for a long time in spite of his efforts to deracinate his power, his imperial achievement is creditable if we bear in mind the racial heterogeneity of the people after the Hun invasions of India and the growing strength of the centrifugal forces. As an administrator he was active and just and his frequent tours must have enabled him to study the needs of his subjects and provide for them. Still his establishment of peace and order was to some extent imperfect.

Krishnadeva Raya There is no point in such generalisations. History disproves the facile doctrine that one religion is invigorating and another debilitating. The charge against Buddhism may be brought with equal cogency against Christianity on the basis of the pacifism taught by the Jewish Prince of Peace, and against such great ideals like brahmacharya or celibacy. The position of the detractors of Harsha becomes still more untenable when they hold both Asoka and Harsha responsible for the decline and fall of the Hindus. It is said that the latter in spite of his policy of toleration showed a spirit of intolerance in dealing with the non-Buddhists ranged against Hiuen Tsan. But he had a double duty to perform—to protect an honoured guest and to save a noble soul. The opinion that he was an eclectic is hard to sustain and the diversity of faith among the Pushyabhutis shows not their eclecticism but the freedom they possessed to set up to their religious convictions. Firmly relying on the truth inculcated by their respective denominations and enjoying the consolation it afforded, they allowed freedom of conscience not only to themselves but also to their subjects. But a substantial share of the king's patronage accrued to the sect to which he belonged. The slow decline of Buddhism and the growing importance of Brahmanism are patent in the pages of Hiuen Tsang and that Harsha espoused the cause of the former shows that he was no opportunist.

Cultural Harsha's contribution to literature and advancement of learning exhibits his many-sided activity and super-human energy. It is difficult to relate him to the art of the age which was a continuation of Gupta art. In a sense he belongs to the age of the Guptas and his grandmother was a Gupta princess. He revived their empire and continued its cultural tradition. The silver coins 284 in number of Siladitya imitate the Gupta Persoeol type though dated in the years of the Harshavara. These are the only coins which may be assigned to him.

over Sushatavarman is recorded. Adityasena is eulogised in general terms. He built a Vishnu temple, and his mother, a *matha* (college or monastery), his queen excavating a tank. After him came three rulers—all of them appearing with imperial titles—the last of whom was Jivita Gupta II whose Deo Baranark (near Gava) inscription records his continuance of an old grant of land for Sun worship. Therefore the death of Harsha was not followed by anarchy in Northern India but by the empire of Adityasena which must have remained intact to the end of the seventh century.

I tsing Inspired by the labours of Fa hien and Hsuen Tsang I tsing left China in 671 at the age of 37 and reached Tamralipti in the following year via Sumatra where he stayed six months learning Sanskrit. Attacked near Nalanda by robbers in 673 he proceeded to Rajagriha, Bodhi Gaya, Vaisali, Kusinagara, Kapilavastu, Sravasti and Benares. He remained at Nalanda for ten years and returned with copies of the scriptures to Tamralipti and by sea to Siam in 695. His record of Buddhist practices in India composed in 691-2 deals with monastic life—religious services, singing, eating, dressing, bathing, sleeping, pure and impure food, how to answer the calls of Nature, etc. He gives evidence of the decline

religious practice and mentions a number of Buddhist literary men and philosophers Asvaghosha Nagarjuna Vasu-
 bandhu Vasubandhu Bhartrihari Siladitya (Harsa)
 Dharmapala and Silabhadra of Nalanda, etc. In short
 Itsing's *Record* is indispensable to students of Indian
 religious and literary history.

victorious career was brought to a tragic end between 736 and 747 by Muktapīḍa Lalitadītya of Kashmir. Kalhana's *Rajataranginī* says that, after his defeat, Yasovarman sent the terms of peace to his conqueror with his own name first and that this offended the victor who recommenced hostilities, decimated Yasovarman, and seized Kanauj. The attribution of some coins to Yasovarman is conjectural.

Vakpatiraja and Bhavabhūti. Yasovarman is the author of a drama, the *Ramabhyudaya*, which is lost, and of some poems included in an anthology. He patronised not only Vakpatiraja but also Bhavabhūti, the greatest playwright in Sanskrit after Kālidasa, who, from the point of view of his learning, stands to Kālidasa in the same relation as Milton to Shakespeare. Bhavabhūti obtained the name of Śrīkantha probably because, like Śiva, he liked scenes of terror and took his audience to the cremation ground. He was born in Berar and belonged to an orthodox Brahman family of Soma sacrificers. He was a man who would defy the whole world and would not care if people failed to appreciate his works, he was quite confident that posterity would applaud him. He wrote three plays. The *Mahatīrā-charita* (the story of Rāma, the great hero) is much less esteemed than the *Uttararamacharita*, which is an embodiment of the *sokarasa* or sentiment of pathos. It deals with Rāma's divorce of Sītā owing to the public scandal resulting from her abduction by Ravana, and with the final vindication of her chastity. Its simplicity is in marked contrast with the terribly long compounds of the

Sutra Perhaps his masterpiece is the *Malatimadhata*, though some would rate the *Uttararamacharita* even higher. His seriousness goes to such an extent that he dispenses with the *Vidushaka* or jester in his plays which exhibit manliness, deep feeling, sublimity of thought and prodigious learning combined with true poetic power but it is doubtful if a play like the *Malatimadhata* would succeed on the stage and benefit an ordinary audience.

Successors of Yasovarman Literature mentions Ama and Jain and Dunduka a reprobate murdered by his son Bhoja as the successors of Yasovarman but their history is not clear. There is however no doubt about the real existence of Vajravudha who was overthrown by the Kashmirian Jayapida, who carried away the throne of Kanauj. The next ruler, Indravudha was defeated about 810 by Dharmapala of Bengal and replaced by Chakravudha who was ousted about 816 by Nagabhata II of Bhinmal (Rajputana). Thus Kanauj became the capital of the Gurjara Pratiharas.

SECTION IX. THE GURJARA PRATI HARAS OF BHINMAL AND KANAUJ

Rajput Origin. The origin of the Gurjaras and of the Rajputs in general is a complex problem. The current theory is that most of the Rajput clans like the Gurjaras are descended from the Huns and other allied barbarians who invaded India in the fifth and sixth centuries and ultimately became merged in the indigenous population. Though they are called Kshatriyas in Indian Literature and provided with Solar and Lunar genealogies, their connection with the Kshatriyas of the earlier period is doubted. The story of the Hindi poet Chand of the

Rajputs and Kshatriyas But some of the Rajput clans associated with the uncivilised Indian tribes like the Gonds and the Bhars are regarded as of indigenous origin Further certain dynasties founded by Brahmans became later known as Kshatriya dynasties on account of their intermarriages with the Kshatriyas and of their performance of the work of government appropriate to the Kshatriyas So it is difficult to maintain the racial homogeneity of the Rajputs and connect them directly with the ancient Kshatriyas The composite character of the Indian population in general forbids such claims to racial purity Hence it is thought that the Rajputs were a professional group but racially heterogeneous According to this view the Chahamanas (Chauhans) Pratiharas (Parmars) Paramaras (Parmars) and Chalukyas were foreign Rajputs while the Chandellas (Chandels) Chodavals (Chodavars) Rastrikutas (Rasthurs) and Kalachuris or Kalachurs were indigenous Rajputs

Origin of the Gurjaras We may take the Gurjaras (Pratihars and probably the other *Agnikula* clans) and examine the view that they were Central Asian nomads who came to India along with the Huns or some time later The Gurjars of the Panjab and Rajputana today have certain characteristics reminiscent of pastoral nomads There are striking similarities between the coins of the Gurjaras and the Huns Further Bana brackets the two tribes in describing the conquests of Prabhakaravardhana Moreover the Gurjaras are not mentioned in Indian records before the sixth century the reference in the Tamil epic the *Manimekalai* to *Iuchchara* is indeed ripe or susceptible of a different interpretation Each argument is weak in itself It is rather bold to jump from the characteristics of modern Gurjars to those of their distant ancestors Numismatic influence cannot establish racial homogeneity The passage in the *Harsha charita* refers to Gujarat as well as the Indus region,

Landhara, Lata and Malwa in connection with the victories of Harsha's father, and it would be wrong to suppose that all the vanquished enemies were Gurjaras or tribes allied to them. The other argument from silence may merely indicate the break in tradition caused by the foreign invasions. Still the cumulative effect of the *prima facie* arguments cannot be pooh poohed, and may be regarded as presumptive evidence. Hsien Tsang's reference to the Gurjara king as a Kshatriya is no serious objection, for inscriptional references to royal claims to the maintenance of caste purity may indicate increasing fusion of races and castes. The most serious objection to the current theory that the Rajputs are mostly of foreign origin is that anthropometry does not differentiate between the Rajputs and the Indo Aryans and that a definite physical type is found today in Kashmir, the Panjab and Rajputana. Sir H. Risley observes: "It is not probable that waves of foreign conquerors entering India at a date when the Indo-Aryans had long been an organised community, should have been absorbed by them so completely as to take rank among their most typical representatives (Kshatriyas) while the form of their heads, the most persistent of racial distinctions was transformed from the extreme of one type (broad headed) to the extreme of another (long headed) without leaving any trace of the transitional forms involved in the process." It is no proper answer to this point to say that anthropometry is a science still in its infancy. Therefore our verdict on the question of the foreign origin of many Rajput clans is one of unproven. Mr C. V. Vaidya goes too far in emphatically repudiating the current theory and stoutly maintaining that the Rajputs of the Rajput period (750—1200) were the descendants of the Vedic Kshatriyas.*

The Gurjaras of Bhinmal and Kanauj Nagabhata I the founder the Pratiharas dynasty may be conjecturally,

* Vaidya op cit II (1924) p 11

assigned to 725—740. His alleged defeat of the *mlech chhas* probably refers to that of the Arabs of Sindh on the strength of Hsuen Tsang's reference to the Gurjara kingdom of Bhinmal the seat of his power is located there. The fourth ruler was Vatsaraja (775—800) who defeated the king of Bengal and seized his two royal umbrellas but was subsequently vanquished by Dhruva Rashtrakuta and ultimately by the king of Bengal himself. His successor, Nagabhata II (800—834), rehabilitated his dynasty, exterminated the line of Yasovarman, and removed his capital to Kanauj. In spite of the defeat inflicted on him by Govinda III Rashtrakuta he maintained his hold on Kanauj and was succeeded by Ramabhadra (834—840), the father of Bhoja.

Mihira Bhoja (c 840—c 890) Mihira Bhoja, under whom his dynasty was most powerful was primarily responsible for the extent of his empire as his predecessors had to maintain their precarious position against the hostility of the Palas and the Rashtrakutas. It was he who turned that three cornered struggle in favour of his own dynasty. Though the details of his wars are not known his dominions included the Punjab east of the Sutlej, the United Provinces, Rajputana and the Gwalior region (the Chandella ruler of Bundelland being his feudatory) and probably Malwa, Gujarat and Kathiawar. The last three regions certainly formed part of the empire of his successor. Thus the Gurjara Pratihara Empire could compare favourably with that of Harsha or of the Guptas. For more than half a century such an imperial position remained intact. Our limited knowledge of Bhoja's reign is derived from his inscriptions. His silver coins are numerous and indicate a long reign and an extensive empire. But like the Hun pieces they exhibit Sassanian influence. Bhoja's title of *Adityaraha* appears on them, his other surname being *Prallasa* or Splendour. He was a worshipper of Vishnu and the Sun. He is

credited with the foundation of Bhojapura. The Arab traveller, Sulaiman, writing in 851, says "The king of Jurz (Gurjaras) maintains numerous forces, and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry. He has great riches and his camels and horses are numerous. There is no country in India more safe from robbers." * Sankaravarman Utpala of Kashmir is said to have checked the power of Bhoja but we do not know how far the claim is well founded.

Mahendrapala I (c 890—c 908) There is no doubt that Mahendrapala was the worthy son of his illustrious father. He held firm control over the empire erected by the latter, and perhaps made some additions to it. The inscriptions of his eighth and ninth regnal years at Gaya and of his thirteenth year in the Rujshahi District show his conquest of Magadha and Northern Bengal. He was the disciple and patron of Rajasekhara the great poet and playwright. The latter was born in the Dakhan and after serving Mahendrapala he migrated to the Kalachuri court and then returned to Kanauj in the time of Mahipala I. He was a master of Sanskrit and Prâkrit. His plays *Balaramayana* and *Palabharata* or *Pracanda* *Indana* deal with epic themes. The *Viddhasilablanjika* (Broken Doll or Statue) provides ample scope for mirth as its heroine is a girl appearing in masculine dress. The *Karpuramanjari* named after the heroine is his *magnum opus*—one of the best comedies in Indian literature. It is the only extant well-known drama entirely composed in Prâkrit.† His plays are full of proverbs and contain many references to the customs of the age, hence their historical value is great. His *Kavya* *manimâsa* is a work on poetics and his *Bhutanakosa* deals with geography. For the social history and geography of

* H. H. Elliot and J. Dawson *The History of India as Told by its own Historians* I (1867) p. 4.
† Macdonell *op. cit.* p. 112.

ancient India, he is an author who cannot be neglected Mahendrapala was succeeded by his son Bhoja II (908—914), who was followed by his half brother Mahipala I, during whose reign the Gurjara Pratihara Empire began to decline

SECTION X. THE MAITRAKAS OF VALABHI, THE GURJARAS OF BROACH AND THE CHAPOTKATAS OF ANHILVAD

Valabhi The Maitrakas seem to be foreigners who came to India along with the Huns, the dynasty was founded by Bhataraka Senapati who, towards the close of the fifth century, carved out a principality in Kathiawar and Gujarat with Valabhi (mod Valsa) as the capital The first famous ruler was Siladitya (605—611), identified with the great Buddhist king mentioned by Huen Tsang Dhruvasena II fought with Harsha of Kanauj and became his vassal and son-in-law After the latter's death, Dhruvasena IV, the greatest member of the dynasty, assumed imperial titles and came into conflict with the Gujjaras of Broach Bhatti the grammarian poet, one of the Mahakavis wrote his work called the *Bhatti Ratnavadha* at Valabhi during this reign, it is an epic which illustrates the rules of Sanskrit grammar and poetics Some regard Bhartrihari as its author The date of the last ruler of Valabhi Siladitya VII, is 766, and the dynasty was put an end to and Valabhi destroyed about 770 by the Arabs of Sindh, (this is supported by numismatic evidence) at the instance of Rani a disloyal citizen Though a small kingdom at the height of its power it included South Kathiawar, parts of Gujarat Cutch a part of Malwa Broach and Surat Its kings patronised Buddhism and it is significant that seven kings bore the name of Siladitya though some of the other rulers were Saivas

The Hinayana University The Hinayana University of Valabhi was founded probably in the fifth century A D

It was in a flourishing condition in the time of Hiuen Tsang and I tsing, who regard it as the peer of Nalanda in popularity among non Indian students. The former contained "6,000 priests most of them studying the Little Vehicle" (Hiuen Tsang), and the excavations at Valabhi in 1930 brought to light not a single image of the Buddha. The names of Sthiramati and Gunamati are associated with the Universities of Valabhi and Nalanda.

Broach. The Gurjara dynasty of Broach, consisting of six rulers, was established towards the end of the sixth century (580) by Dadda I, who calls himself a *samanta* or feudatory. Its territory extended from Southern Gujarat to the Narmada and occasionally to the Tapti. It was constantly fighting with the Maitrakas and the Chalukyas, though the third king, Dadda II, helped Dhruvasena II against Harsha. The last king, Javabhata III, ruled at least till 736, and the kingdom disappeared with the rise of the Rashtrakutas though the name Gujarat, the country of the Gurjaras, has become permanent.

Anhilvad. Another Gurjara dynasty called Chapotkata or Chavada founded Anahilapataka or Anhilvad and established itself there in 746. It rose in importance after the destruction of Valabhi. It was subordinate to the Gurjara Pratiharas and consisted of six princes. It was superseded in the tenth century by the Solankis or Chalukyas of Anhilvad.

SECTION XI THE ARAB CONQUEST OF SINDE

Sindh before the Arab Invasion. The Rai dynasty of Sindh consisting of six princes ruled from about 480 to 622, and Rai Sahasi II the last of the line was followed by Chach his Brahman minister who usurped the throne and married the widow of the late king. The story of the new dynasty is dealt with in the *Chach nama* a historical work in Persian written early in the thirteenth century. The usurpation provoked provincial revolts which were

put down by Chach, who extended his kingdom became master not only of Sindh but of portions of the Panjab and the whole of Baluchistan, and reigned for forty years (622—662), with his capital at Alor. After him his brother Chandar ruled for seven years (662—669), and the latter's death was followed by dynastic quarrels and division of the kingdom, for thirty years (670—700) the two sons of Chach governed the partitioned kingdom from Alor and Bradmanabad, it was only about 700 that the kingdom was reunited under Dahar, the younger brother. Though the kingdom of Sindh was extensive and powerful on the eve of its conquest by the Arabs its real strength had been impaired by the consequences of Chach's usurpation, by its later partition, and by its wars with the neighbouring states. Moreover, the Buddhist monks who possessed much political power were opposed to the Brahman regime. In short, loyalty to the old dynasty and dissatisfaction with the usurper's line made united resistance to the Arabs impossible.

Progress of Islam Prophet Muhammad's flight (better, withdrawal) from Meccah where he was born in 570 to Medina in 622 owing to the hostility of his compatriots to his mission marks the starting point of the Hijri era used by his followers and before his death in 632 he became the political and religious leader of Arabia. The expansion of Islam under the Khalifs his successors in the century following his decease is one of the miracles of history. By 638 Syria and Egypt had been conquered. North Africa by 709. Spain by 713 but the further advance of Islam in Europe was checked by its defeat in France in 732. In 652 Persia was overthrown and the frontier of Islam extended to the Oxus and the Hindu Kush. The Sassanian dynasty was brought to a close by the murder of its last member Yezdigird III in the same year in his place of refuge for the sake of his jewellery. From 650 to 700 the Arabs won splendid successes and suffered serious defeats in their attempts

to dislodge the Shahis of Afghanistan and the Panjab, from 700 to 870 Kabul maintained its independent position intact, and was captured by the Arabs only in the latter year. It was the failure of the Arabs to reach India through the Khyber and Bolan Passes that was responsible for the choice of the Makran coastal route for their invasion of India.

Kasim's Expedition The Arab invasion of Sindh in 712 was the culmination of a series of efforts to reach India made by a great empire stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Hindu Kush. Between 634 and 643 plundering expeditions to Thana (near Bombay), Broach and Debal (Lower Sindh) were not successful and the infeasibility of the route through Afghanistan naturally pointed out the importance of Makran, which was con-

Subsequent Fortunes of Sindh Sindh was held for the Khalif by his Governors some of whom pursued an active policy of consolidation of Arab rule in the conquered region and of expeditions to various parts of India. We have noted the destruction of Valabhi. At the same time, we find Indian princes claiming victories over the Arabs of Sindh. While the Gurjara Pratiharas were hostile to them the Rashtrakutas befriended them. The Governors of Sindh failed to exploit their initial success and became independent of the Khalif about 870, simultaneously with the decline of the latter's authority. In the tenth century, Sindh was divided into two chief kingdoms Multan or Upper Sindh and Mansurah or Lower Sindh and the recorded victories of the Amirs of Multan may be explained in the light of the decline of the Pratihara Empire of Kanauj. In the next century Mahmud of Ghazni conquered Multan (1005) and Mansurah (1025). Though Upper Sindh continued to be attached to the Turkish Empire Lower Sindh became practically independent under a Rajput dynasty (the Sumras) after the death of Mahmud of Ghazni (1030).

Character of the Conquest The Arab conquest of Sindh is regarded as "a triumph without results". It is spoken of as a failure in so far as the initial success was not pushed forth and no great empire was founded by the Arabs in India. The initial triumph was due to the striking ability of Muhammad bin Kasim coupled with the Khalif's support to his expedition the news of which was received with delight by the internal and external foes of Dahar. But Kasim's vigorous policy of expansion was not seriously pursued by the Governors of Sindh and the Khalifs became gradually indifferent to the fortunes of their Indian province. Sindh was not a region rich enough to supply its conqueror with the sinews of war for further territorial expansion. Above all the Karlotas of Kashmir and the Gurjara Pratiharas of Kanauj were

strong enough to resist aggression from Sindh. Though the Arabs were not deprived of their first and last conquest "when we remember their wonderful military successes in other parts of Asia and Africa the comparatively insignificant results they achieved in India certainly stand out as a marked contrast."

Effects of the Conquest on India The conquest in its earlier stages was very destructive to life, property and public monuments. The conquerors were a foreign garrison concerned only with political and military affairs. The lands seized by them were cultivated by the conquered who besides the land tax ($\frac{2}{5}$ ths of the produce for irrigated lands and $\frac{1}{4}$ th for the rest) had to pay the *jizya* (poll tax on Hindus). The Kazi (Muslim judge) decided cases between Hindus and Muslims according to the Koranic law. In many other ways the distinction between the believers and the unbelievers, the rulers and the ruled, was emphasised. Still the Arabs left many matters to the *panchayats* of the Hindus and to local magnates. They were much less intolerant in their religious policy than the later Turkish rulers. There are instances of their encouraging worship in temples in order to increase the public revenue as at Multan. Derelict temples were allowed to be rebuilt. Moreover the conquerors married Indian women and adopted Indian customs and dress, and gradually a new community of Indian Muslims came into existence. Further, commerce was promoted, Multan and the seaports became centres of Chinese, Ceylonese and Central Asian trade.

of its resistance, the Arabs captured Kabul in 870 with the result that the Shahis transferred their capital to Ulabhanda or Und the original capital of the Turki Shahis. Kallai (870—870) was followed by Samartta (870—900). These two rulers experienced the hostility of Kashmir but probably enjoyed the friendship of the Gurjara Pratiharas. Perhaps the attitude of Kashmir now towards the Shahis different from that of Multapida Lalitaditya in the first half of the eighth century was partly responsible for the fall of Kabul in 870.

SECTION XIII THE KARKOTAS AND THE UTPALAS OF KASHMIR

Kalhana's Rajatarangini The almost complete lack of inscriptions for the history of Kashmir is more than compensated by the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana supplemented by coins and remains of monuments and Chinese and Muslim notices. That greatest Indian historian lived in an unfortunate period of Kashmir history his father being a minister of Harsha 'the Nero of Kashmir'. He knew his country and its public affairs very well and had opportunities for studying its geography and topography. He understood the inwardness of the contemporary history of Kashmir and his interest in antiquarian remains was great. His historical studies commenced with Bilhana's *Vikramankacharita* Banar's *Harshacharita* and the numerous chronicles of Kashmir abridged and unabridged whose many discrepancies and errors are deplored by him. He went further and explored the archaeological remains with so much care that his description of them has guided modern exploration and research. He deciphered the inscriptions available to him and did not neglect even the old coins of Kashmir. Thus he gives us some idea of his workshop though not a critical survey of his authorities. He had no notion of the historical method known to us today but it is an agreeable surprise that the student of Bilhana and Banar analysed

literary inscriptional numismatic and monumental evidences before attempting a history of his country

Historical Value Kalhana completed his work in 1150, it gives a connected account of the dynasties of Kashmir. For the early period the popular legends are given without any comment and one Ranaditya is said to have ruled for 300 years 'Manifest impossibilities exaggerations, and superstitious beliefs (like *ablichara* or magical operation) are reproduced without a mail of doubt or critical misgiving' (Sir A. Stein). In some respects Kalhana was extremely credulous and we may suppose that he was led away by the legendary character of the early records of Kashmir. From the seventh century his account becomes sober though it is occasionally vitiated by over statements and his chronology becomes tenable though Sir A. Stein the first English translator of the *Rajataranginī* thinks that twenty five years should be added in the light of the Chinese evidence to make it acceptable but Mr C. V. Vaidya holds that there is no need for that correction. From 837 we get correct dates in the years of the Lauhika era (3076 5 B.C.)—the date of composition of the work is given in the Saka year as well—and from 855 the date of accession of Avantivarman Utpala the year month and day of the beginning and end of each reign are supplied and the narrative is completely reliable. The contemporary part of Kalhana's history is based on his own direct knowledge and on that of his acquaintances. On the whole he exhibits an impartial and independent outlook, he is fair even to Harsha. He does not tell a varnished tale but dwells on the merits and defects of the makers of history and their coadjutors. His Honesty is beyond doubt. Honesty in an historian has not unjustly been called a forerunner of critical judgment (Stein). His general accuracy is equally unimpeachable. Though he fails necessarily to conform to our present day standards in some respects,

he deserves to be called a historian, as distinct from an annalist or chronicler

The Karkotas The isolation of Kashmir was broken now and then before the seventh century by its inclusion in the Maurya Kushan and Han Empires. The founder of the Karkota dynasty was Durlabhavardhana (626—662), claiming descent from the Karkota Nagas of South India. Hiuen Tsang notes that Taxila and a few other places belonged to Kashmir which was in a prosperous condition. He says that though the king was favourable to Buddhist monks the kingdom was devoted to Brahminism and full of Brahminical monuments. The extension of Kashmir to Taxila and the Salt Range was probably responsible for the change of the Shahi capital from Ohind to Kabul. The next ruler Durlabhavardhana's son (662—712) is supported by his abundant coinage. His sons and successors Chandrapida (712—720) and Tarapida (720—724) were contrasts in character, while the former was just the latter was cruel.

Muktapida Lalitaditya Muktapida Lalitaditya (724—760) made Kashmir "one of the strongest powers in Asia." Kalhana describes his *digvijaya* which though to some extent conventional is mainly historical. He defeated Yasovarman of Kanauj twice and closed the latter's triumphant career. His expeditions to Badakhshan (north of the Hindu Kush) and Tibet were successful. He was on friendly terms with the Shahis of Kabul though some would regard them as his feudatories. He is said to have thrice defeated the Arabs of Sindh—this statement is rejected by scholars like Sir A. Stein—and to have invaded Bengal. His relations with China were cordial. Though his coins are not extant his imperial position is unquestionable and he died in the course of a distant campaign. Alberuni the distinguished Muslim Sanskritist of the eleventh century refers to Muktapida (Muktapida) king of Kashmir who ruled over the

whole world " and to his victory over the Turks. The *Chach nama* describes him as "the king of Kashmir on whose royal threshold the other rulers of Hind had placed their heads, who sways the whole of Hind," etc. His grand activities as a builder are vouched for by the ruins of the temple of Martanda, "even in their present state of decay, they command admiration, both by their imposing dimensions and by the beauty of their architectural design and decoration" (Stein). The ruins of the town of Parihasapura built by him confirm Kalhana's eulogy. He was well disposed towards Buddhism and erected *viharas* and *stupas*, and this is testified to by a Chinese pilgrim who visited Kashmir between 759 and 763.

Jayapida Vinayaditya After two short reigns, Jayapida Vinayaditya (775—806), the grandson of Muktapida, ascended the throne. Like the latter he became a hero of legend, but his coins prove his real existence. His *digvijaya* described by Kalhana is more conventional than that of his grandfather. But there is no doubt that he defeated Vajrivudha, the successor of Yasovarman of Kanauj and that his position was truly imperial. He is said to have gone as far as Bengal. Though towards the close of his reign he became greedy and tried his subjects heavily, he was a great patron of learning who revived the study of Patanjali's *Mahabhashya* with the help of scholars like Kshira from outside Kashmir. Kalhana says that "the king searched for and collected all scholars to such an extent that in the land of other kings there was a dearth of learned men." The names of many scholars are mentioned, Damodaragupta the chief minister and author of the *Kuttanumata* which deals with the hilot's profession with a view to safeguarding men's morals, Udbhata and Vamana, writers on poetics, etc. Under the ephemeral successors of Jayapida Kashmir lost its foreign possessions and was reduced to its original limits.

The Utpalas. Avantivarman The Utpalas were related to the Karkotas by marriage, and the first and most distinguished member of the dynasty was Avantivarman (855—883), who seized the throne and established his power. He eschewed an aggressive foreign policy and concentrated on internal improvement in order to efface the consequences of misgovernment during the period of the later Karkotas. He curbed the growing power of the turbulent *Damaras* (rural aristocracy). He was a good Vaishnava, and his highly esteemed Prime Minister, Sura, was a pious Sāva. The public works of this reign included the foundation of Surapura (named after the minister) and Avantipura (named after the king), many Śiva temples, inferior in size to those of Lalitaditya and *mathas*; and above all, the construction of a huge reservoir for irrigation and for preventing the devastation caused by floods, by changing the course of the Jhelum and of stone embankments along the new course of the river, thanks to Suvya, an engineer of wonderful ability. Avantivarman was a great patron of learning. At his court flourished Anandavardhana the author of the *Dhṛṭyanaloka*, a commentary on the *Dhṛṭi*; *Karika*s (supposed by some to have been composed by the commentator himself), which expounds the theory that *dhṛṭi* or suggestion is the characteristic of genuine poetry; Śivasvamin, the author of the Buddhist epic *Kaṣṣanabhyaṣya*; Ratnakara who wrote the epic poem *Haratijaya*; and Abhinandya, the versifier of *Bāṇa Kadambira*.

forced labour of various kinds was exacted from the poor people. He even resumed the villages granted to temples and paid them a fixed allowance. Weights and measures were tampered with in order to increase the state revenue. As a measure of economy he avoided the company of scholars! But he built two Siva temples and the city of Sankarapura besides patronising the poet Bhallata, the author of a gnomic *Satala* named after him and of the lexicon *Padmamanjari*. He died on his return from an expedition.

SECTION XIV NEPAL AND ASSAM

Nepal Nepal was a part of Asoka's Empire and a friendly neighbour to the Guptas under Samudragupta. During the sixth century a Licchhavi dynasty was established there. Sivadeva was gradually ousted from the throne by Amsuvarman Thakuri (625—642). The identification of the era used in his inscriptions is not quite certain, if it is the Harsha era it is probable that he was feudatory to Harsha. Some regard him as subordinate to Tibet. He was an able ruler who held Central Nepal. His successor's reign witnessed the restoration of the Licchhavi dynasty. Nepal played a part in the suppression of Arjuna the usurper of Harsha's throne after his death. In 879 the civil war in Tibet provided the opportunity for the overthrow of its control over Nepal which had been probably established after the reign of Amsuvarman. This emancipation from Tibetan yoke was achieved by Raghavadeva. Buddhism was introduced into Nepal in the time of Asoka and in the seventh century Mahayanism flourished there.

Assam Assam (ancient Kamrupa or Pragjyotisha) with its capital at Pragjyotishapura near Gauhati was not subordinate to the Maurya Empire. Under Samudragupta its status was like that of Nepal but there is evidence of his influence in Assam. One of the later Guptas of Magadha defeated Sustitavarmān. The

dynasty of Bhagadatta (traditional ancestor), or of Pushyavarman (historical founder), held sway in Assam from about 350 to 650, the last member of which being Harsha's intimate friend and feudatory, Bhaskaravarman, whose court was visited in 643 by Hsien Tsang who describes him as a Brahman (probably a mistake for Brahmanist) and his country as containing no Buddhist monastery. Buddhism had so far made no progress there. From about 650 to 800, the line of Salastambha remained in power, and was superseded by Pralambha (800—829). His successor Harjara (829—875) assumed imperial titles, and like him his son Vanamala (875—900) was a Saiva.

SECTION XV. THE PALAS OF BENGAL AND BIHAR

Retrospect In the latter half of the sixth century Gauda or Bengal became gradually independent of the Guptas, and the Maukharis came into conflict with the Gaudas, who became powerful under Sasanka, the bitter enemy of Buddhism who uprooted the Bodhi tree at Bodhi Gaya. But his power was checked by Harsha and Bhaskaravarman of Assam though he maintained his position in Orissa till 637. In the second half of the seventh century, Bengal and Bihar were under the Guptas of Magadha and the Khadgas of Samatata. We have seen that Adityasena revived the Gupta Empire. About 700 Adisura is said to have re-established Brahmanical orthodoxy in Bengal by importing five Brahmans and five Knyasthas from Kannauj. In the first half of the eighth century the anarchical state of Bengal facilitated its conquest by Yasovarman of Kannauj who seems to have defeated the Khadga king as well. The Kashmirian imperialists, Muktapida and Jayapida are said to have interfered in the affairs of Bengal and Bihar. Other invasions of the country are on record. Therefore the anarchy said to have preceded the establishment of

the Pala dynasty in Bengal is confirmed by the warlike activities of some of the other Indian states

Gopala I The chronology of the Palas has been much discussed and we may adopt the scheme of Dr H C Ray * Copala I (c 765—c 769) "elected to the throne of Bengal saved the country from the anarchy of the previous half century. He does not seem to have belonged to any royal family. He must have established his dynasty in virtue of his services in times of trouble. The imperial efforts of his successor indicate the solidity of Gopala's work. We have no information about the duration of his reign. He was a Buddhist who founded the University of Odantapuri (Bihar town) near Nalanda.

Dharmapala Copala I's son and successor Dharmapala (c 769—c 815) overthrew Indrayudha and put his own nominee Chakrayudha on the throne of Kanauj. But his success was nullified by the conquest of Kanauj by Nagabhata II Gurjara Pratihar. The latter was however defeated by Govinda III Rashtrakuta who is said to have triumphed over Dharmapala as well. The Pala imperialism was thus scotched for the time being, still their kingdom extended at least from Pataliputra to Rajshahi as inscriptions prove. The chronology of the struggle for Kanauj is to some extent confusing and it is difficult to reconcile all the available data. Scholars give different dates for the kings involved in that struggle. Dharmapala assumed the title of *Paramasaukata* (a great Buddhist) and founded the University of Vikramasila on the southern bank of the Ganges, its exact location being unknown. His name is associated with "the great (Buddhist) temple and monastery at Paharpur (Rajshahi District Bengal) a unique type of architecture—the prototype of the temples of Further India, Burma and Indonesia" †

* Ray op cit I pp 281-85

† Sir J. Cunningham, *Perciling India's Past* (1929) p 46

Devapala Devapala (c 815—c 854), the son of Dharmapala is represented as an imperialist in his inscriptions. It is probable that he took advantage of the death of Govinda III Rashtrakuta and the consequent internal troubles in his kingdom and of Nagabhata II Pratihara, followed by the weak rule of Ramabhadra. For a moment he regained the imperial position that his father had secured for a short time. But with the accession of Mihira Bhoja, the brilliant period of Gurjara imperialism began and lasted down to the death of Mahendrapala in 908 and the Palas had to give up their political ambitions. The Nalanda copper plate of Devapala records his grant of five villages in his thirty ninth and last regnal year at the request of Balaputradeva, the Sailendra Emperor of Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra), for the maintenance of a *vihara* built by him at Nalanda, after "having realised the transitoriness of wealth and attracted by the manifold excellences of Nalanda." Like his predecessor Devapala was a staunch Buddhist, and his Nalanda record throws some light on his friendly relations with the Sailendra imperial dynasty of Sumatra and Java. The next ruler, Vajrahapala I (854—857) was more ascetic than royal, and on his abdication his son Narayanapala (857—911) came to the throne. The inscriptions of Mahendrapala Gurjara in Bihar and Northern Bengal indicate the territorial losses of the Palas who suffered eclipse during the ascendancy of Mihira Bhoja and of his son.

SECTION XVI THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINGANAGARA

The Ganga Era The Ganga princes of Kalinga trace their descent from Kamarnadeva I who left Kolar (Mysore) and conquered the territory around Mahendragiri. The first reliable date available is 1034 for the seventeenth king and the total of reign periods for the first sixteen kings is 301½ years. So the foundation of the Ganga dynasty may be assigned

to 1038—301½ = 736½, i.e., the middle of the eighth century. The earlier Ganga grants are dated in the years of the Ganga era but when it was inaugurated we do not know. One of the suggestions is A.D. 497*. Though the rulers mentioned in those grants often appear with imperial titles their achievements are unknown. Their capital was Kalanganagara (Mukhalingam near Parlakimedi, Ganjam District) and they worshipped Gokarnesvara on the Mahendragiri, their *lanohana* or crest being the bull. We know more about the Eastern Gangas from the eleventh century.

SECTION XVII THE WESTERN CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI

Origin. The later inscriptions of the Chalukyas and Bilhana the author of the *Vikramankacharita* and court poet of Vikramaditya VI Chalukya, regard Avodhya as their ancestral home. But this statement is rejected on the ground that Chalukya is not a Sanskrit word though Bilhana transforms it into Chaulukya and derives it from *chulula* (hollow of the hand) narrating the story of Brahma creating the first Chalukya from the hollow of his hand when he was performing *sandhya* at the instance of Indra who had requested him to produce a warrior in order to put down irreligious people in the Kaliyuga. Dr. Hoernle derives the word from a Turki root *chap* = gallop and *chapaul* = a plundering raid. One point worthy of note is that the name Pulakesin is found among the Chalukyas and the Chapas the latter belonging to the Gurjara group. Dr. Rice speculates that the word Chalukya resembles Seleukia and that the bitter wars between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas may be explained as the continuation in South India of the quarrels of the Seleucidae and the Arsacidae (Parthians) on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates the

Pallavas being regarded as Parthians. In these circumstances, it is best to take the Chalukyas or Solankis as allied to the Gurjaras.

The Aihole Inscription. The Aihole (Bijapur District, Bombay) inscription of Pulakesin II is a long record dealing with the Chalukyas down to that ruler. Though the predecessors of Pulakesin I (c 547—c 567) are mentioned, he was the historical founder of the dynasty. He captured Vatapi (Badami Bijapur District) and performed the horse sacrifice. His son Kirtivarman I (567—598) conquered Banavasi and the Konkan, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Mangalesa (598—608) who seized Revatidvipa (Redi promontory, Ratnagiri District Bombay). The next ruler, Pulakesin II (608—642) the son of Kirtivarman ascended the throne after defeating his opponents—Mangalesa and his allies Appayika and Govinda. According to the Aihole record he conquered the Kadambas and the Western Gangas the Konkan by a naval victory, Harsha the Latas Malavis and Gurjaras (thus obtaining “the sovereignty over the three Maharashtrakas—Berar Maharashtra and Kuntala—with their nine and ninety thousand villages”), the Kalingas and Kosalas, Pishtapura (Pithapuram, Godavari District) and Kanchi whose king “had opposed the rise of his power”. He is said to have crossed the Kaveri and “caused great prosperity to the Cholas, Keralas and Pandyas”. His *digvijaya* is to a certain extent conventional, but there is no doubting the wide range of his warlike activities. The inscription was composed by Ravikirti in connection with his dedication of a stone temple of Jinendra and the author mentions his acquisition of fame as great as that of Kalidasa and Bharavi. It is true that Ravikirti has a place in Sanskrit literary history, which is indebted to this record as it fixes the lower limit of Kalidasa's date and testifies to his fame in the first half of the seventh century. The inscription

is dated in the years of the Kaliyuga and Saka eras corresponding to A.D. 634.

Emperor Pulakesin II. From other inscriptions we learn that Pulakesin I performed many sacrifices. Kirtivarman I beautified Badami, and Mangalesa built a Vishnu temple there and assumed the title of *Paramabhagavata* (a great devotee of Vishnu). Pulakesin II's titles are *Satyasraya*, *Prithvivallabha*, *Paramesvara*, *Paramamahesvara*, etc. In virtue of his extensive conquests, he became the most powerful ruler of South India who decisively checked the ambition of Harsha to conquer the South. But Pulakesin's conquest of the whole of South India is only a nominal claim. The Pallavas lost a portion of their possessions in the Andhradesa, and the Eastern Chalukya Viceroyalty was founded in 611. An eighth century Pallava inscription says that Mahendravarman I vanquished his enemies at Pullalura (Pallur near Kanchi), and this might be one of the episodes in the Chalukya-Pallava contest. But there is no denying Pulakesin II's defeat of the Pallavas and his annexation of a part of their dominions. About 625 Pulakesin II sent an embassy to Khusru II of Persia, according to a Muslim historian, and the return Persian embassy is apparently painted in Cave I of Ajanta; but this interpretation of the picture is controverted by some scholars, who regard it as representing "Bacchanalian (drinking) scenes of the type that recurs in Buddhist art from the early Kushan period onwards."*

Hiuen Tsang. In 641 Hiuen Tsang visited Pulakesin II probably at Nasik in the course of his South Indian tour. He says: "The inhabitants (of Maharashtra) were proud-spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanguinary to death with any who treated them

* Coomaraswamy, *op cit.*, p. 99.

insultingly. Their martial heroes. . . went into conflict intoxicated, and their war-elephants were also made drunk before an engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants, the king treated neighbouring countries with contempt....The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide, and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty."*

The Chalukya Interregnum. Before his death in 642, Pulakesin drank the cup of misery to the dregs. Narasimhavarman I Pallava defeated the Chalukya army at Manimangalam (near Kanchi) and other places, and despatched an expedition to Badami under Siruttunda Nayanar, who captured and destroyed it and erected a pillar of victory there. This Pallava achievement is confirmed by an inscription of Narasimhavarman at Badami itself. Pulakesin died, and political confusion followed, with the result that an interregnum seems to have occurred from 642 to 655. Thus Narasimhavarman conquered the conqueror of his own father and of Harsha.

Successors of Pulakesin II. Vikramaditya I (655—680), the son of Pulakesin II, rehabilitated his dynastic fortunes after the anarchy of thirteen years. The Gadval (the Nizam's State) plates of his 20th regnal year (674) say that, at the time of the grant recorded in them, the Chalukya army was camping on the southern bank of the Kaveri at Urugapura (Uraiyur, Trichinopoly). Besides the usual Chalukya titles, he is styled *Rajamalla* because he destroyed the *Mahamalla* (Narasimhavarman I) family. He is described as *Ravarasika* (one who enjoys fighting) and as the conqueror of Kanchi and of Isvara Potaraja (Paramesvaravarman I). But Pallava inscriptions record a victory at Peruvalanallur (near Trichinopoly) and Vikramaditya's flight, "covered only by a rag," thus indicating that the Chalukya was not invariably victorious. But the very fact that he marched as far as Trichi-

* *Waller, op cit.* II (1905), p. 239

nepoly confirms his capture of Kanchi and the general success of the expedition undertaken by him to wipe off the disgrace of defeat during the closing years of Pulakesin II's reign. The next important ruler was Vikramaditya II (733—746) who, according to the copper plates of his successor Kirtivarman II, "defeated his natural foe, entered the Pallava capital Kanchi without destroying it, and restored to the Rajasinhesvara and other temples heaps of gold and rubies which had been taken away from them." This statement is confirmed by Vikramaditya's inscription at Kanchi. Nandivarman Pallavamalla, though defeated about 740, soon recovered his capital. There is no justification for regarding the Chalukya victory as "the beginning of the end of the Pallava supremacy". Kirtivarman II (746—753) was the last of the Chalukyas of Badami whose power was put an end to by Dantidurga Rashtrakuta, whose dynasty lasted until the restoration of the Chalukyas in 973.

Religion. During the period of about two centuries of early Chalukya rule, Brahmanism slowly but decisively superseded Buddhism. The Vedic religion received increasing support from the kings and the people, and leaders of thought in India began to expound the theory of the infallibility of the *Vedas* and emphasise the efficacy of the Vedic injunctions. Jainism became popular towards the close of the period, and Vikramaditya II patronised it.

Art. The Buddhist caves of Ajanta are important for their sculptures and particularly for their paintings in Cave I—the Temptation of the Buddha and "the Persian embassy" being remarkable. There are good Buddhist cave sculptures at Aurangabad and Nasik. But the Brahmanical cave sculptures illustrating the orthodox creed are characteristic of the early Chalukya period. At Ellora, near Aurangabad, the famous sculptures are Ravana under Mount Kailasa, Dancing Siva, and Vishnu.

in his Narasimha *avatara* killing the demon king Hiranyasipu. At Badami the Narasimha and Varaha *avatars* of Vishnu are admirable. Structural temples of the age exist at Aihole, Badami and Pattadakal (near Badami). The most important edifice is the Virupaksha temple with sculptures illustrating the *Ramayana* and exhibiting the influence of Pallava art, it was built about 740 in imitation of the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi. The boar symbol was the crest of the dynasty.

SECTION XVIII. THE RASHTRAKUTAS OF MALKHED

Origin. The tradition of the Yadava descent of the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta (Malkhed in the Nizam's State, about 60 miles south-east of Sholapur) originated in the ninth century. Their descent from the Rathors of Rajputana is negatived by the much earlier existence of the Southern Rashtrakutas. Their Telugu origin is based on the word Reddi being regarded as a corruption of Rashtri but the possibility of such a change in the Telugu language is denied, moreover, the Reddis were a political power only in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A plausible view is that the Rashtrakutas were Marathas descended from the Rashtrikas who figure in the inscriptions of Asoka, but the latter were not confined to Maha rashtra but extended to the Kannada country as well. Kannada was the language of the Rashtrakutas who patronised not Marathi but Kannada Literature. Though their racial origin is difficult to decide—they are generally regarded as indigenous Rajputs—, their original home was Lattaluru (Latur, the Nizam's State) where Kannada is spoken today. As the ancestors of Dantidurga were connected with Ellichpur (Berar), they may be supposed to have migrated to that place from Latur, about one hundred and fifty miles south of Ellichpur*.

* A. S. Altekar *The Rashtrakutas and their Times* (1934), pp. 15-27

Dantidurga. Indra I married a Chalukya princess of Gujarat and strengthened his position in Berar, and his son Dantidurga (745—756) created the nucleus of Rashtrakuta power by conquering the territories of the Gurjaras of Broach and of the Chalukyas of Gujarat, after concluding an alliance with Nandivarman Pallavamalla. He took the next step by defeating Kirtivarman II Chalukya in 753 and annexing the northern part of Maharashtra. He is also said to have conducted an expedition to Malwa. He was a man of considerable energy and foresight who understood the weakness of his victims and employed the resources of war and diplomacy for the consummation of his ambition. He was an orthodox Hindu who made many gifts on holy days and at sacred places. He died about the age of thirty. Malkhed became the Rashtrakuta capital only in the time of Amoghavarsha I. We do not know the name of their original capital; there are suggestions favouring Nasik, Ellichpur or Ellora.

Krishna I and Govinda II. The successor of Dantidurga who died without a male heir was his father's brother Krishna I (756—775), and the theory of the ejection of the nephew by the uncle on account of his maladministration is untenable. He completed the conquest of the Western Chalukyas about 760, invaded the Western Ganga Kingdom under Sripurusha in 768, and sent his son Govinda against the Eastern Chalukya ruler, Vishnuvardhana IV, in 770. Thus the southern portion of the Western Chalukya territory and a part of the Eastern Chalukya dominions were annexed. South Konkan was Krishna's last conquest. He nearly trebled his inheritance, established the predominance of his dynasty in the Dakhan, and cleared the path of his successors to trans Vindhyan adventures. The importance of his reign is increased by his contribution to architecture—the Kailasa temple hewn out of a big rock at Ellora (the Nizam's State) and described as "the most mar-

vellous architectural freak in India . by far the most extensive and sumptuous of the rock-cut shrines, one of the wonders of the world, a work of which any nation might be proud, and an honour to the king under whose patronage it was executed "• Krishna I was followed by Govinda II (775—780), whose vicious life and neglect of royal duties resulted in his supersession by his younger brother Dhruva

Dhruva. The reign of Dhruva (780—794) witnessed the defeat and imprisonment of Sivamara II Western Ganga, the annexation of his dominions, and the appointment of a Viceroy to govern them. He led an expedition to Kanchi against Dantivarman Pallava. It seems that these military activities were intended to punish the Ganga and Pallava rulers for their support to Govinda II against Dhruva on the eve of his usurpation. His intervention in Northern Indian politics, resulting in the discomfiture of Vatsaraja Gurjara, increased the imperial prestige of the Rashtrakutas, but no territorial gains accrued to them. Its object seems to be not conquest but the chastisement of that Gurjara for his aid to Govinda II.

All the punitive expeditions of the reign were successful, and the kingdom was saved from the danger of Govinda II's continuance by the decisive vigour of Dhruva, who was one of the best Rashtrakuta sovereigns and who showed his wisdom further in choosing his third son Govinda as heir-apparent.

Govinda III In spite of his father's efforts to avoid a war of succession after his death, Govinda III (794—814) was confronted, subsequent to his accession to the throne, with the hostility of his elder brother Stambha in league with a number of neighbouring kings. With the aid of his feudatories he defeated him and treated him generously by reappointing him to the Western Ganga Viceroyalty. In the meantime, Sivamara II, though

* Smith *The Early History of India* (1891) pp. 445 and 446

released from captivity by Govinda III, had asserted his independence and espoused the cause of Stambha. Hence Govinda proceeded against him and repeated the work of his father in the annexation of the Ganga Kingdom, his brother again becoming the Ganga Viceroy. Next he invaded the Pallava dominions and defeated Dantivarman about 803. This victory was followed by a successful attack on Vijayaditya II Eastern Chalukya. Following the example of his father, he invaded Northern India and triumphed over Nagabhata II Gurjara and Dharmapala of Bengal. Returning from the North, he renewed his campaigns against the southern powers, Ganga and Pallava, about 810, with such success that the king of Ceylon is said to have sent his own statue as a token of submission to Govinda, who was then at Kanchi. His qualities of generalship and statesmanship secured for him a unique position in India North and South of the Vindhyas. He raised the name and fame of his dynasty to a level not attained before or after him. He consolidated his power at home by a policy of conciliation towards his feudatories and exhibited strength and wisdom in his dealings with Stambha while obtaining the hearty co-operation of his younger brother Indra Viceroy of Gujarat. He may be regarded as the most distinguished among the Rashtrakutas a dynasty remarkable for the ability and enterprise of its members.

Amoghavarsha I The accession of Amoghavarsha I (814—880) to the throne at the age of six provided the occasion for the revolt of feudatories and the assertion of Western Ganga independence, followed by the dethronement of the boy king. From this anarchy the Rashtrakuta Empire was saved between 816 and 821, and Amoghavarsha regained his regal position. About 860 he defeated Vijayaditya III of Vengi, and came to an understanding with the Gujarat branch of the Rashtrakutas, with whom he had difficulties from 835, though they had rendered loyal service in connection with his reinstatement as king.

Owing to internal difficulties he could not follow a forward policy either in Northern India or in the South. He acquiesced in the independence of the Western Gangas and concluded an alliance with them, strengthening it by the marriage of his daughter with Butuga I, the Ganga prince. In Northern India, the progress of Mihira Bhoja did not stimulate Amoghavarsha into activity. In short, from the military point of view, his gains were not striking, and he was not a lover of war. He was constitutionally a religious man and lover of peace. He admired and patronised Jainism and some regard him as a Jain. He was a truly pious man who tested the validity of precepts by translating them into practice. His teacher in-chief, Jinasena, was a Jain. He did not abjure Hindu doctrines and beliefs—he worshipped Mahalakshmi—in spite of his love for Jainism. He is supposed to be the author of *Kavirajamarga* the first known work on Kannada poetics (probably composed by his court poet, Srivijaya) if he was not its author, he was its patron. A Sanskrit work, the *Prasottararatnamala*, is attributed to him perhaps rightly as there is a reference in it to its author's abdication, it seems to have been composed between 875 and 879. Whether he abdicated or not he delegated much of his power to the crown prince Krishna. He was the founder of Manyakheta to which he shifted his capital. It is thought that he is referred to as "the long lived Balhara (a corruption of *Vallabha*)" by Sulaiman who describes him (851) as a great emperor of the world along with the rulers of Constantinople, Baghdad and China.*

Krishna II Though Krishna II (880—912) came into conflict with Mihira Bhoja, nothing substantial was achieved on either side. But the serious event of his reign was the establishment of Eastern Chalukya independence by Vijayaditya III and Bhima I. The Rashtrakutas of

* Elliot and Dowson, *op cit* I pp 34

Gujarat, however, were brought under imperial control, the separate line being abolished. Krishna's achievements were poor, and like Amoghavarsha I he loved and protected Jainism and came under the influence of Gunabhadra, a great Jain writer. He lost Vengi and made no attempt to recover the Western Ganga Kingdom that had been lost by his father. But his successor Indra III (912—917) revived the glories of the reign of Govinda III by his adventures in Northern India.

Art. We have mentioned the Kailasa temple of Krishna I. Some of the sculptures are representations of the Descent of the Ganges and of Ravana's attempt to pull down Mount Kailasa. "Here the quivering of the mountain has been felt, and Parvati turns to Siva and grasps his arm in fear, while her maid takes to flight, but the Great God is unmoved and holds all fast by pressing down his foot." At Elephanta (island near Bombay) there are sculptures depicting the marriage of Siva and Parvati, Siva as *Yogi*, and above all the colossal Trimurti, though some would assign these to the period 500 to 600. But, on the whole the Rashtrakutas do not seem to be great patrons of art.

SECTION XIX. THE EASTERN CHALUKYAS OF VENGI

Vishnuvardhana I. The Eastern Chalukyas or the Chalukyas of Vengi were a branch of the Chalukyas of Badami. Pulakesin II's conquest of the Andhra country in 611 from the Vishnukundins was followed by the constitution of a Viceroyalty entrusted to his younger brother, Vishnuvardhana, surnamed Kubja or hunch backed who had been Governor of Maharashtra till 615, in which year he was transferred to the new province, which seems to have extended from Nellore to Vizaga patam. His loyalty to Pulakesin is proved by an inscrip-

* Coomaraswamy *op cit* p. 100.

tion of 630. The Eastern Chalukya inscriptions indicate 615 and 633 as the initial and final regnal years of Nishnavardhana I. He assumed the title of *Ushamasiddhi*, or conqueror of difficulties which appears on a silver coin of his with the figure of a lion and of a trident and lamps on either side—the earliest Chalukya coin definitely known.

Huen Tsang. The Chinese Pilgrim was in the Andhradesa in 629. He says that there were about 20 Buddhist monasteries and more than 3 000 monks in the kingdom of Vengi. At Dhanvavataka there were many monasteries but most of them were empty, only twenty of them were used by 1 000 monks. There were however about 100 non Buddhist temples. The decline of Buddhism in the Andhradesa was brought about by a succession of Brahmanical dynasties after the Ikshvakus.

Independence of Vengi. The catastrophic close of Pulakesin II's reign appears to have made the Eastern Chalukyas independent. For more than a century after their separation, their history is obscure. Now and then there were succession disputes and supersession of princes. The establishment of the Rashtrakuta dynasty on the ruins of the Western Chalukya power had far reaching effects on the position of the Chalukyas of Vengi. Vishnu vardhana IV (764—799) became subordinate to Krishna I Rashtrakuta but after the latter's death supported Govinda II against Dhruva whose triumph led to Vishnu vardhana's co-operation in Dhruva's campaign against the Western Gangas. He was loyal to Govinda III but his son and successor Vijayaditya II (799—843) rebelled against Rashtrakuta authority and was consequently expelled from the throne by Govinda III. But after the latter's death in 814 he regained his throne, invaded the Rashtrakuta dominions, and defeated Amoghavarsha I. He assumed imperial titles like *Maharajadhiraja* and *Paramesvara* and became famous as a builder of temples.

Vijayaditya III (844—888) was defeated by Amoghavarsha about 860, but subsequently his inscriptions credit him with a number of victories against the Pallavas the Pandyas the Western and Eastern Gangas the Rashtrakutas etc* Bhima I (888—918) finally secured the independence of his dynasty and freed it from Rashtrakuta control during the reign of Krishna II Panduranga was a great general who served both Vijayaditya III and Bhima I

SECTION XX THE WESTERN GANGAS OF TALAKAD (Contd)

Sripurusha and Sivamara II. Passing over Mushkara, Bhuvikrama and Sivamara I who reigned in the seventh century—their part in the Chalukya Pallava struggle is not clear—we come to Sripurusha (726—788) who claims a glorious victory over the Pallavas of Kanchi. He transferred his capital to Manne near Bangalore and his rule was so beneficent that his kingdom was called *Sri rajya*. He wrote on elephants while the Rashtrakutas under Krishna I invaded Gangavadi. Sivamara II (788—812) suffered much in his conflict with Dhruva and Govinda III. His mastery of several subjects is recorded—logic philosophy drama grammar etc. He knew the management of elephants and horses and composed the *Gajasataka* in Kannada.

Successors of Sivamara II. An attempt was made to re-establish Ganga independence soon after the accession of Amoghavarsha I and we have seen how that Rashtrakuta followed a conciliatory policy. Rajamalla I (817—853) rebelled against the Rashtrakutas. Nitimarga I (853—870) continued with success the struggle for Ganga independence. Rajamalla II (870—907) and Butuga I were on friendly terms with Amoghavarsha I who made the latter his son-in-law. They came into con-

* D. C. Ganguly *The Eastern Calukyas* (1937), pp. 52, 54.

lict with Chalukyas of Vengi and allied themselves with the Pallavas against the Pandyas. *Krishna II Rashtrakuta* did not tamper with the independence of the Western Gangas. *Prithivipati I* (853—880) belonged to a subsidiary branch of the Gangas, ruling over Kolar in consequence of the partition of the kingdom. He helped *Aparajita Pallava* at the battle of *Sripurambiyam* (Tanjore District). *Prithivipati II* (880—925) was a feudatory of *Parantaka I Chola*.

SECTION XXI. THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI (Contd.)

Mahendravarman I. The Pallava dynasty emerged from the previous period of chronological and even genealogical uncertainty and attained in the seventh century to unquestioned pre-eminence in political and cultural history. *Mahendravarman I* (c 600—c 630) lost a part of his dominions to *Pulakesin II Chalukya*, but his *Trichinopoly* cave inscription proves the southern extension of his kingdom. Though he was worsted in his contest with the Western Chalukyas, his fame was established in other spheres of activity. Under the influence of *Saint Appar*, he gave up Jainism and adopted Saivism. His *Trichinopoly* record refers to his adherence to the *linga* cult and to his construction of a cave temple, in which his own stone statue was erected. His rock-cut temples for *Siva* and *Vishnu* exist in other places—*Vallam* (near *Chingleput*), *Mahendravadi* (near *Arkonam*), and *Dalavanur* (near *Tindivanam*), and his tank at *Mahendravadi* is famous. An inscription at *Mandagapattu* (South Arcot District) says that "*Vichitrachitta* (*Mahendravarman*) caused to be constructed a temple for *Brahma*, *Siva* and *Vishnu* without the use of bricks, timber, metal or mortar." It is said that as a Jain he persecuted the followers of other religions than Jainism, and that as an ardent Saiva he destroyed a Jain monastery at *Pataliputra* (South Arcot District). He assumed a number of

titles like *Gunabhirama*, *Satyasandha*, *Paramamahesvara*, *Mahendravarman*, *Chetthalar* (builder of temples) and *Mattavilasa*. The last title is substantiated by his authorship of the Sanskrit farce, *Mattavilasa-Prahasana* which caricatures Buddhist monks and Śiva mendicants like the Kapalikas and Pasupatas. The Jain cave paintings at Sittannavasal (the Pudukkottai State) include illustrations of dancing and it is supposed that Mahendravarman patronised dancing. His encouragement of painting is indicated by his surname *Chitrakarappu*. The music inscription at Kudimiyamalai (the Pudukkottai State) is ascribed to his initiative and he is regarded as an expert in music. The many-sided activity of Mahendravarman is perhaps revealed in his title of *Vichitrachitta*. Though his Trichinopoly statue is not extant there is a sculptured portrait of the king along with his two queens at Mahabalipuram on the coast near Chingleput.

Narasimhavarman I *Huen Tsang* We have alluded to the victory of Narasimhavarman (c 630—c 655) at Manimangalam and to the subsequent destructive invasion of the Western Chalukya kingdom by his general Siruttonda Nayanar resulting in the tragic end of Pulakesin II in 642, hence Narasimha's surnames *Vatapikonda* and *Mahamalla*. Another triumph redounding to his credit is the restoration of the Sinhalese prince Manavarma, to his ancestral throne and in this connection two naval expeditions started from Mahabalipuram, the second one achieving its object. *Huen Tsang* visited Kanchi in 640 and found it a big city about six miles in circumference containing about 100 Buddhist monasteries inhabited by more than 10 000 monks though Buddhism was in a moribund condition in the Pandya country. Further there were above 80 non-Buddhist temples, and Digambara Jainism was popular. 'The people esteemed great learning. Not far from the south of the capital was a large monastery which was a rendezvous for the most eminent men of the country' (*Huen Tsang*). Narasimhavarman was the

founder of Mahabalipuram or Mamallapuram, and some of the famous monuments of the place called the Seven Pagodas may be assigned to him, particularly the Dharmaraja Ratha

Rajasimha The next ruler, Mahendravarman II (c 655—c 660), was succeeded by Paramesvaravarman I (c 660—c 680) He submitted to Vikramaditya I Chalukya, who captured Kanchi and marched as far as Tichinopoly in 674, but the former is said to have defeated his enemy and compelled him to take to his heels It seems that he built the monolithic Ganesa temple at Mahabalipuram and a structural temple of Siva at Kuriam (near Kanchi) He was an ardent worshipper of Siva, to whom a number of shrines were dedicated Narasimhavarman II (c 680—c 700), surnamed *Rajasimha*, enjoyed a peaceful reign characterised by much attention to art He built the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi the Shore temple at Mahabalipuram, etc His titles like *Saula bhakta*, *Vadyadyadhara* and *Ayamapriya* appear to give a clue to his varied interests He sent an embassy to China* Some scholars would place Dandin the great Sanskrit prose writer and rhetorician at the court of Rajasimha and regard the extant plays attributed to Bhasa as mere stage adaptations got ready at Kanchi during this reign as Rajasimha is mentioned in their colophons

Nandivarman Pallavamalla After Paramesvaravarman II (c 700—c 710) came Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (c 710—c 775), who is regarded as a usurper by some, and rightly as an "elected" ruler by others He belonged to the line of Bhimavarman the brother of Simhavishnu About 740 he was overpowered by Vikramaditya II Chalukya who held Kanchi for some time His conflict with Rajasimha I

* Nilakanta Sastri *Foreign Notices of South India* (1939), pp 116-17

Pandya was prolonged and Nandipura (Nathankovil, near Kumbhukonam), where he was staying, was besieged, but Udayachandira, his general, came to his rescue. The achievements of Udayachandra are recorded in the king's Udayenduram plates which credit the general with the conquest of a part of the Eastern Chalukya territory. A number of battles were fought in the region around Tanjore in the course of the Pallava Pandya contest. A Rashtrakuta invasion of Kanchi is mentioned, and probably it resulted in the conclusion of an alliance between Dantidurga and Nandivarman, perhaps strengthened by the latter's marriage with Reva the daughter of that Rashtrakuta. Nandivarman is also said to have come into collision with the Western Gangas under Sripurusha. He was a Vaishnava and during his reign lived the Vaishnava scholar and saint Tirumangai Alvar, whose writings form a substantial portion of the *Nalayiraprabandham*. He built the Muktesvara temple at Kanchi, and perhaps the Vukunthapuram temple in the same place.

Dantivarman and his Successors Dantivarman (c 775—c 826) was the son of Nandivarman II by the Rashtrakuta princess whose father's name had been given to her son. In spite of this relationship, Dhruva and Govinda III led expeditions to Kanchi. An inscription of Dantivarman in the Parthasarathi temple, Triplicane (Madras), shows its antiquity. It is supposed that Varaguna Pandya I occupied the Kaveri region for some time. Nandivarman III (c 826—c 849) won a great victory over Sumara Pandya at Tellaru (near Wandiwash)—hence his surname *Tellarerinda Nandivarman*—and is said to have marched as far south as the Vaigai. The *Vandik Lalambalam*, a contemporary Tamil account of his victories mentions his chief cities—Kanchi, Mahabalipuram and Muvilu (Mylapore Madras). He married a Rashtrakuta princess worshipped Siva, and patronised Tamil Literature. Perundevanar the author of the *Bharata Venba*, appears to have been his contemporary.

His son and successor, Nripatungavarman (c 849—c 875), defeated Srimara Pandya at Arichut (the Arisil, a distributary of the Kaveri). His Bahur (Vahur, near Pondicherry) plates record the grant of three villages by his minister for the support of an institution for the study of the Vedas and the Sastras. Aparajita (c 875—c 893), the last Pallava, triumphed over Varaguna II Pandya about 880 at Sripurambiyam (Tirupurambiyam, near Kumbhakonam) with the help of Prithivipati I Western Ganga, but towards the close of the ninth century, Aditya I Chola inflicted a decisive defeat on him, and the main Pallava dynasty came to an end.

SECTION XXII ADMINISTRATION AND CULTURE

Administration That as early as the fourth century a well organised administration existed in the Pallava Kingdom is clear from the Hirahadagalli grant of Sivaskandavarman, which records the renewal of a gift of tax-free land to a number of Brahmans in the *Satahaniratttha* (*rashtra* or province of Satavahana, corresponding to the region about Bellary). The exemptions relate to the following items "the taking of sweet and sour milk, troubles about salt and sugar, forced labour, the taking of oxen in succession, the taking of grass and wood, the taking of vegetables and flowers," and other immunities of eighteen kinds. This is a fragmentary picture of the taxes usually imposed except on tax free lands. The manufacture of salt and sugar seems to be a government monopoly. Further, the inscription registers a royal order to provincial governors, princes, generals, district officers, custom house officers and other government servants. The system of administration under the early Pallavas was like the Maurya system* which continued with modifications during the period from the second

* Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India* (1931) Lectures III and IV

temple at Mahabalipuram—this is the line of evolution of Pallava art. Four architectural styles are distinguished named after (1) Mahendravarmā I, (2) Mahamalla (3) Rajasimha and Nandivarmā II and (4) Aparajita. There is evidence of transfer of skill from wood work to stone work and the indigenous origin of Pallava art is clear from the development of the primitive hut into the temple. Artistic evolution has been on indigenous lines. Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil divides the history of Dravidian art into five epochs. 'The Pallava period (600—850) is that of sculptured rocks (cave temples appearing only in this period) the Early Chola period (850—1100) that of grand *vimanas* (the sanctuary of the temple) the later Chola period (1100—1350), that of the most beautiful *gopurams* (gateways) the Vijayanagar period (1350—1600) that of *mantapams*, and the modern period (after 1600) that of corridors.' He says that the forms of architecture changed slowly and that the development is primarily one of ornamentation so much so that the history of Dravidian Architecture reduces itself to the history of ornamentation. There is not much structural development though the methods of construction are very elementary though the sculptural part of the work is exceedingly interesting in heaping stone upon stone the art of the engineer is almost nothing.

SECTION XXIII THE PANDYAS OF MADURA

Chronology Our knowledge of the Pandyas from the seventh to the ninth century is mainly derived from a few copper plate grants the chief of which is the Velvikudi grant of Nedunjadavan. Though the numerous data of these records give unmistakable indications of the recovery of the Pandyas from the Kalabhra interregnum and of the expansion of their power the identification of the kings mentioned in them and their chronology are debated by scholars. From one or two dated records of the eighth and ninth centuries we may work backwards on the basis

of an average of twenty five years for each reign and place the beginning of Pandya revival at the commencement of the seventh century

Dynastic History The first two kings Kadungon and Maravarman Avanisulamani may be assigned to the first half of the seventh century. The third ruler Sendan (c 645—c 670) is credited with warlike qualities and sense of justice and his title *Ianatan* may signify his conquest of the Cheras. He was succeeded by Arikesari Parankusa Maravarman (c 670—c 710) perhaps identical with the Kun Pandya of tradition and during his reign the Pandya Pallava clash started. He won a great victory at Nelveli identified by some scholars with Tinnevely. He triumphed over the Cheras as well. The Kun Pandya is said to have been converted from Jainism to Saivism by Saint Sambandar. He is regarded as a violent persecutor of the Jains after his conversion and according to the story 8000 of them were impaled on stakes. This figure is obviously an exaggeration*. He is said to have married a Chola princess, at whose instance Sambandar was invited to Madurai. He was followed by Kochechadayam Rindhura (c 710—740) who defeated an Ai chief at Marulur near Ambasamudram and won a victory over "Maharathas" at Mangalore. His successor Maravarman Rajasimha I (c 740—c 765) conquered the Kaveri region and besieged Nandivarman Pallavamalla at Nalikipura until the arrival of the Pallava general Udayachandra to the support of his sovereign. He is said to have married a Western Ganga princess and defeated the Chalukyas probably Kirtivarman II. He performed many *mahalanas* or great gifts. After him came Jatila Parantaka Nedunjilayan (Varaguna I) the donor of the Velvikudi plates belonging to his third regnal year who may be assigned to c 765—c 815. He seems to have been

* Nilakanta Sastri *Historical Method in Relation to Problems of South Indian History* (1941) p. 161

century B C to the third century A D, and to some extent anticipated the Gupta system as we have seen. The inscriptions of the great Pallavas supply additional details regarding the tax system, and throw some light on the village assemblies and their committees which in some measure functioned as in the subsequent Chola period. The *sabha* (assembly) was characteristic of villages occupied by Brahmans, as is apparent from the qualifications prescribed for membership of the committees. It managed temples and supervised tanks and other public works constructed with the resources of the central government which built temples dug tanks and canals, made roads, etc.*

Religion and Literature We have seen that the seventh century was the period of triumph of Brahmanism with its Siva and Vishnu cults, and of decline of Buddhism and Jainism in the Pallava Empire. The greatness of Kanchi as a seat of Sanskrit learning is clear from the inscriptions which were composed by literary men. A Tamil part is found in the charters only of the later period. Mayurasaiman the founder of the Kadamba dynasty went to Kanchi to complete his Vedic studies. Dingnaga's name is associated with Kanchi and Bharavi is said to have been invited to his court by Simhavishnu. In the seventh century Mahendravarman I wrote a Sanskrit farce. Hiuen Tsang says that Dharmapala who presided over the Nalanda University before Silabhadra, belonged to Kanchi. Some would connect Dandin with the Pallava court. We have referred to the theory of stage abridgement regarding Bharavi's plays. The *Tetram trio* (Appar Sambandar and Sundarar) and Manikavasagar according to some scholars (before Appar in the opinion of others) lived during the period of the great Pallavas. Some of the Alvars like Tirumangai Alvar belong to the

* C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* (1938) Chapter IX.

same age. Thus the *Tetaram* and the *Valayirapirabandham* represent the religious literature of the Pallava epoch, which contributed to the ascendancy of Brahmanism and the decreasing popularity of the heterodox religions. The decline of Buddhism was hastened by Saiva and Vaishnava saints—Sambandai Tirumalsai Tondiradippodi and Tirumangai Alvars and Minikkavasagar.

Art Rathas The five *rathas* named after Dharma raja (Yulhishtura) Bhima Arjuna Sahadeva and Draupadi are apparently Siva monolithic shrines. The sculptures called 'Arjuna's penance' are regarded by some scholars as "the Descent of the Ganges." "Here a great rock wall with a median fissure has been covered on both sides with sculptured figures of deities human beings, Nagas and animals of all kinds approaching or facing towards the fissure and for the most part with hands joined in adoration. Immediately to the left of the fissure is a small sculptured shrine containing the standing figure of a four armed deity probably Siva, before the temple is an emaciated yogi (Bhagiratha) practising *tapas*. The fissure is occupied by the Nagas, above on either side are flying figures of gods and below are the wild creatures of the forests, amongst which the monumental elephants may be specially mentioned. (There is also) the figure of the ascetic cat standing erect as a *tapasvi* in *urdhhabahu* (hands uplifted) while trustful mice play at his feet. A detached group representing a monkey family is a masterpiece of animal sculpture."* The Pallava coins contain the dynastic crest—the maned lion.

Evolution of Dravidian Art Stone Architecture in the Tamil land begins with the Pallavas. From the cave temples of Trichinopoly to the *rathas* of Mahabalipuram and subsequently to structural temples like the Shore

* Coomaraswamy *op cit.*, p. 103

the greatest imperialist of his dynasty who successfully encountered the opposition of the Pallavas and the Cheras and his conquests were so extensive as to include the Tanjore, Trichinopoly Salem and Coimbatore Districts together with Southern Travancore. He was an enthusiastic builder of Siva and Vishnu temples. Some scholars associate his name with that of Manikkavasakar. The next Pandya, Srimara Srivallabha (c 815—c 862) invaded Ceylon and maintained his position successfully against a counter invasion of his own dominions. His greatest triumph was achieved at Kudamukku (Kumbhakonam), and he assumed imperial titles like *Parachakralolahala*. He was however subsequently defeated at Tellur by Nandivarman III Pallava and at Arichit by Nripatunga Varman. He was followed by Varaguna II (c 862—c 880) who was defeated about 880 by Aparajita Pallava at Sripurambiyam. Parantaka Vijnanarajana Pandya (c 880—c 900) married a Chera princess and strove hard to maintain his position. His successor Rajasimha II (c 900—c 920) was overthrown by Parantaka I Chola who captured Madura about 920 and the former fled to Ceylon and subsequently to the Chera country.*

Administration and Religion Various officers like the *Uttaramantri* (Prime Minister) are mentioned in inscriptions and there was no clean separation of civil and military powers. An inscription from Manur (Tinnevely District) of about 800 gives a picture of village administration by assemblies and committees to some extent similar to the Chola system of the tenth century. One interesting point mentioned in that record is the penalisation of the destructionist tactics of the members of the *sabha*. The Pandya kings of the period patronised Sanskrit and Tamil and their inscriptions possess literary merit. The progress of Saivism and Vaishnavism charac

* Nilakanta Sastri *The Pandyan Kingdom* (1929) Chapters V and VI

istic of the age was detrimental to Buddhism and Jainism particularly to the former. The happy religious condition of the Sangam age was completely changed. The great Tamil saints Saiva and Vaishnava substantially contributed to the spiritual enlightenment of their country and appealed directly to the ordinary people but the stories of persecution cannot be set aside as purely imaginary. Manikkavasakar's arguments conquered the Buddhists at Chidambaram and converted them to Saivism. But the story of Kun Pandya is different and the Jains defeated in argument by Sambandar refused to give up their faith. Perhaps this unbending attitude of the Jains was the cause of the barbarous treatment alleged to have been meted out to them by that Pandya. Hsien Tsing, describes the people of Malabuta (the Pandya country) as black, harsh and impetuous, in different to culture and only good at trade.

SECTION XXIV THE CHERAS

Jews, Christians and Arabs. After the Sangam age a profound night overtook the Cheras. We have only a few general references to their wars and defeats before their conquest by the imperial Cholas. The origin of the Jews and Christians of Malabar is a complicated problem. The West Coast Christian tradition is that St. Thomas came from Socotra to Cranganore in A.D. 52, founded seven churches in various places on the coast including Cranganore and Quilon, proceeded to the Coromandel Coast and was martyred near Mylapore. Though it is difficult to prove or disprove this tradition, the existence of Christianity in Malabar in the sixth century is proved by the reference to it made by Cosmas Indicopleustes. The tradition regarding Manikkavasakar's reconversion of two Christian families to Brahminism is of practically no use as we are not sure of the age of that Tamil saint. The Jewish immigration into Malabar is assigned to the first century. A.D. 10,000 Jews are said

to have migrated from Jerusalem after its sack by the Romans in A D 71. But the first definite proof of the Jewish colony on the West coast comes from the Tamil charter of Bhaskara Ravivarman issued from Cranganore to Joseph Rabban, giving him and his descendants certain lands and privileges and this document is assigned to the eighth or tenth century. According to tradition the Arabs settled in Malabar in the ninth century and married Indian women, and the Moplah population came into existence. The Kollam era of A D 824-5 is supposed to have originated in connection with the foundation of Quilon or with the termination of the rule of the Perumals of Kerala. There is only a single coin (silver with Nagari inscriptions) belonging to the Cheras and it is assigned to the eleventh or twelfth century A D.

SECTION XXV RELIGION

Buddhism History We have seen that the Buddha's success during his lifetime was due to his unique personality and character coupled with the respect that he commanded in aristocratic and royal circles thanks to his rank as a Sakya. Though he died without nominating his successor going to the extent of saying that the *Dhamma* would be the guide of his followers the Sangha organised by him stepped into his place and carried on his mission. Though dissensions developed among the monks much solid work of internal organisation was done and the Canon was gradually formed and fixed. But there was no appreciable external growth and in this respect Jainism stole a march over Buddhism. The era of phenomenal expansion of Buddhism was ushered in by Asoka and after the fall of the Maurya Empire though it lost the patronage of the state in Kalinga under Kharavela and in the Gangetic Valley under Pushyamitra its position in other parts of India was strong. With Kanishka and owing to its evolution into Mahayanism Buddhism made rapid progress beyond

India, and its condition in South India was stable up to the seventh century. In Northern India the revived Brahmanism of the Gupta age was a great rival to Buddhism, but the two religions progressed on parallel lines in many respects so much so that their similarities are striking—image worship, festivals, prayer, etc. The conquest of Buddhism by Brahmanism was slow but steady, and the method of conquest was not violent. The accounts of Fa hien and Hsuen Tsang bear evidence of the local decline of Buddhism but testify more eloquently to the increasing importance of Brahmanism. It was only in the eighth century in Northern India and in the seventh century in South India that marked Buddhist decline set in.

Causes of Success Before proceeding to the decline of Buddhism let us give some attention to the causes of the phenomenal growth of that religion. After the death of the Buddha his personality and character were transmuted into a tradition handed down from generation to generation and embodied in sacred literature. Whatever might be the historicity of the picture of the Buddha thus transmitted to later ages it was regarded as real by simple and pious folk and by enthusiastic monks. The Great Renunciation of the Master and the unnumbered virtues of his long life went straight to the heart of the people who came to know him. There is no parallel in Brahmanism to this feature of Buddhism. With the rise of Mahayanism the Buddha became divine and again it was his life and personality which conquered the hearts and consciences of men and women. At the same time the importance of the organised and well-disciplined Sangha with its members devoted to spiritual exercises and wedded to poverty and chastity cannot be overrated. Such a body so long as it remained a reservoir of spiritual energy was the best instrument of religious conquest and the financial support necessary for propaganda would be given by the public to such an organisation rather than to

individuals working in isolation. Further, the development of Mahayanism made Buddhism a popular religion whereas Hinayanism with its monastic ideal and austere ways could make only a comparatively restricted appeal to ordinary people. Above all without royal support much could not be done by the Sangha with all its energy and enthusiasm. It was the espousal of the Buddhist cause by Asoka and Kanishka that transformed a local religion into a world faith. All that they did for its progress could never have been done by many private individuals during a number of generations. It was royal support that acted largely as the stimulus to private benefactions. The importance of the adherence of Asoka to Buddhism is clear from the change he wrought in its status by his exertions to advance its fortunes. Similarly Kanishka's favours to that religion were responsible for its wide diffusion in Central Asia and China. A missionary religion in particular gains immensely in strength and prestige from its patronage by the state.

Decline of Buddhism According to Hsien Tsang Buddhism was predominant in the Kabul region, Swat, Taxila, Sindh, the region to the south of the Sutlej and north of Thanesar, Magadha and Orissa. It was non-existent in Assam. Generally it flourished along with Brahmanism but it was in a state of conspicuous decline in North Western India (with the exceptions mentioned above) and in South India with the exception of the Kanchi region. It was in a languishing condition in the Pandya country. Therefore taking India as a whole the decline of Buddhism was local rather than general. But in the eighth and subsequent centuries it was eclipsed by Brahmanism except in Bengal, Bihar, Nepal and Sindh excluding the regions devoted to Jainism.

Jainism and Brahmanism Jainism was strong in Kathiawar, Gujarat and Mysore. It was patronised by the Rashtrakutas and tolerated by the Chalukyas of

Budami Though some of the early Pandvas of the period professed it, it was losing ground from the reign of Kun Pandya. The attitude of the Pallavas after Mahendrarvarman I's conversion to Saivism was not favourable to Jainism. Still its position in the Tamil country was better than that of Buddhism. Brahmunism became predominant at the expense of Buddhism and, to some extent of Jainism. Our period witnessed two gigantic figures within the Brahmanical fold—Kumarila and Sankara.

Zoroastrianism The Parsis—the term being the Persian form of the Arabic *Farsi*, meaning belonging to Fars, a province of Persia—or the Iranian Pilgrim Fathers, consequent on the overthrow of the Sassanian dynasty of Persia in 652 by the Arabs, left Hormuz and reached Diu about 716, and after a few years' stay there, migrated to Sanjan (about one hundred miles north of Bombay and about sixteen miles south of Daman) about 735, and settled down there. The exact date of the event is a disputed question, and some scholars defend the date, 936. The immigrants are said to have declared to the Hindu ruler prior to their landing in India: "Do not be afraid of us, for no harm will come through us to this country; we shall be the friends of India, we shall destroy your enemies." Their advent to this country has been compared with the migration of the Huguenots to England and of the English Puritans to America. They remained at Sanjan till about 1492, when they fought and failed against Sultan Mahmud I of Gujarat, and their settlement was sacked. After that disaster they moved on to

Parsis have repaid manifold the debt of gratitude which their remote ancestors of the eighth century owed to the Hindu prince who gave them refuge”*

SECTION XXVI SOCIAL LIFE

Caste Though there were other castes than the four chief ones the innumerable sub castes characteristic of later ages did not exist in this period. An Arab writer of about 900 mentions seven castes in the following order the royal caste Brahmins Kshatriyas Sudras Vaisyas Chandalas and the Jahud (probably wandering tribes described by that author as “fond of amusements and games of skill”) But this description is over simplified and partially inaccurate. That writer testifies to the prevalence of *anuloma* marriages though the general rule restricted the choice of partners to one's own caste. There was no rigidity regarding caste occupations. The Brahmins were engaged in professions including agriculture appropriate to the other castes. The Vaisyas had been mainly traders and the agriculturists chiefly Sudras though they belonged to the higher castes as well. Foreign travellers notice that the people were not generally addicted to drink and the gradual ascendance of the *ahimsa* doctrine was reflected in the growing tendency to give up animal food. In spite of the great influence of the Mimamsakas sacrifices to a large extent fell into disuse. Commensality or inter dining among the higher castes was not restricted.

Women Love of ornaments was characteristic even of princes who wore costly ear rings and necklaces. The absence of the nose-screw is significant there is no word for it in Sanskrit and it must have been borrowed from Muslims later† Mr C V Vaidya is strongly convinced

* Commissariat *op cit* pp LIII—LIV

† Altekar *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation* pp 36° 64

that child marriages began in the eighth century, but we have seen their vogue among *Brahmans* as early as the Sutra period. Still it must be noted that the *Brahma Purana* says that a girl past the age of four may be married. There was a general long standing interdiction on remarriage of widows, and the old custom of *sati* was intact. In his *Kadambari* *Bana* condemns the custom as thoroughly futile and foolish and equates it with suicide, but during the seventh and the following centuries an impetus was given to it by the extravagant praise of its supporters. The hostility to remarriage of widows became uncompromising. We have a few examples of suicide at holy places and of faithful servants of kings following their masters on the funeral pyre. The Arab travellers generally describe the Hindus as honest, just and true to their word.

SECTION XXVII CULTURE

Literature We have dealt with art in connection with dynastic history. The other aspects of culture are reflected in literature, pure and technical. We shall deal with Sanskrit Literature century by century.

Seventh Century **Bhartrihari** We have considered the works of Harsha, of his proteges *Bana* and *Mavura*, and of Mahendravarman Pallava I and *Bhatta Bhartrihari* who died about 651, according to *I tsing* is famous for his *Vakyapadiya* which deals with the philosophy of

Europe, his *Nīti* and *Vairagya Satakas* were translated by the Dutch missionary, Abraham Roger, in 1651.

Prabhakara and Brahmagupta Kumāradasa, the author of the epic, *Janakiharana*, was a follower of Kālidāsa. A famous commentary on Pāṇini's *Ashtadhyayi* is the *Ashtakriti* of Jayadeva and Vamana, much praised by I-tsing as a work which reduced the period of grammatical study from twelve to five years. Prabhakara was the founder of the school of Mīmāṃsā named after him, and his interpretation of the *Sabara Bhashya* was not accepted by Kumāra Bhaṭṭa, the more famous Mīmāṃsaka and antagonist of Buddhism. Dharmakīrti, the Buddhist author of the *Nyayabindu*, revived Dignāga's logic. Brahmagupta composed his astronomical and mathematical works in 628 and 665 respectively, and he follows his predecessors generally and criticises them when necessary, sometimes unfairly, particularly Arabhata. Like the latter, he was a greater mathematician than an astronomer, but his orthodoxy prevented his acceptance of Arabhata's theory of the daily revolution of the earth on its axis. The *Manasara* on architecture is assigned to 500—700.

Eighth Century Bhavabhūti and Magha We have considered Bhavabhūti. Bhaṭṭa Nartayana's *Ucchisamhara* is a drama dealing with the epic episode of the dragging of Draupadī by the hair and her vow of not tying it up before vengeance is wreaked on the perpetrator of the outrage, though un-dramatic, it is good from the point of view of characterisation and the sentiment of pathos. Magha the author of the *Mahākavya Śiṣupālavadhā* is over-lauded by Indian critics and disparaged by Western scholars on account of his verbal tricks and artificiality, is a true poet possessing good ideas and clothing them in beautiful language. He was influenced by Bharavi and Bhaṭṭa two other Mahākavyas. He was known as 'Tall Magha' for his very tall comparison of a mountain with

the setting sun and the rising moon on either side, to an elephant with two bells hanging on either side from his back. Amaru, the lyric poet, assigned by Dr A. B. Keith to 650-750, deals with refined sensual love in his *Sataka*, which depicts lovers in various moods. We have seen Damodaragupta, Udbhata and Vamanā at the court of Jayapida Karkota.

Kumarila Bhatta. Kumarila Bhatta differed from Prabhakara in the interpretation of Sabara's *Bhashya* on Jaimini's *Mīmamsa Sūtras* and founded the Bhatta school of *Mīmamsa*. He was a South Indian though some say that he belonged to Assam, while Mr C. V. Vaidya places him in the Madhyadesa. He was a vehement opponent of Buddhism who condemned it outright for its denial of the authority of the *Vedas*. Much more than Sankara in the next century he was responsible for the Brahmanical propaganda against Buddhism. His militant campaign has given rise to the story that his influence was exerted in favour of the persecution of Buddhism in some places. He was not only a dialectician but a master of several languages. It is said that he learnt Buddhism from Buddhist teachers by pretending to be a Buddhist and that when he became old, he burnt himself to death in order to atone for his sin of *gurudroha* (betrayal of his teachers). In short, by defeating the Buddhist scholars in disputation he established the doctrine of the infallibility of the *Vedas* and the necessity and value of conformity to their *vidhis* or injunctions, his career marks a further stage in the decline of Buddhism.

Ninth Century: Murari and Anandavardhana. The dramatist Murari's *Anargharaghava* is not regarded as a great performance, though his mastery of Sanskrit grammar and vocabulary is admirable. We saw Anandavardhana, Sivasvamin, Ratnakara and Abhinanda at the court of Avantivarman Utpala and Bhallata at that of Sankaravarman, the successor of Avantivarman.

Sankara. Though the materials available for Sankara's life are largely undependable, its main outlines are sufficiently clear, though not strictly historical. He was a Nambutiri Brahman, born at Kaladi (North Travancore), most probably towards the close of the eighth century. But Mr. K. G. Sankar, the latest writer on the subject, assigns him to A.D. 452-84 on the strength of his reference to Purnavarman, who is identified with his Javanese namesake.* Sankara came into contact with his teacher Govinda, the disciple of Gaudapada, propounded his monistic doctrine at Benares, and wrote commentaries on the *Brahma Sutras* of Badarayana, the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad Gita*. His extensive travels took him to Ujjain, Kashmir, Nepal and Assam, and he established his own *mathas* at Badrinath (U. P.), Dvaraka (Kathiawar), Puri (Orissa) and Sringeri (Mysore). It is extremely improbable that he died at the age of thirty-two as is alleged by some traditions, seeing that he wrote much and was active in other ways; perhaps he became a *sannyasin* at that age and was thus dead in a sense to this world. Orthodoxy goes to the extent of believing that he completed his *magnum opus*, the *Sutra Bhashya*, when he was only twelve years old.

Advaita. Though Sankara took much from Buddhism like the doctrine of Maya and from its organisation, so much so that he has been called a *Prachchhanna Bauddha* or crypto-Buddhist, he was fundamentally opposed to the Buddhist nihilism of his day, and his edifice was built on the rock of the *Upanishads*. He condemned the

* A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies, pp. 262-61.

Buddha as an ignoramus or a malicious malefactor of humanity, but paid the best tribute to his religion by borrowing from its bright side. Though he commented on the *Badarayana Suftras*, he was less true to them than to the oldest *Upanishads*. He was to some extent indebted to his predecessors in the Advaitic line, but his philosophy is substantially original. He applied the distinction between phenomenal and real to knowledge and distinguished between lower and higher knowledge. On the whole, he established the sovereignty of the intellect and liberated a fertilising stream of spiritual energy, annihilating nihilism, scepticism and materialism. His system may not be adequate from the religious point of view, but philosophically, it is unshakable and perfect and Western critics give him the place of honour among Indian philosophers. Though he was not a militant propagandist like Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, his activity was highly detrimental to Buddhism and of epochal importance to Brahminism. It is profitless to visualise his unique place in the history of human thought if he had emancipated his vigorous intellect from the shackles of the doctrine of Upanishadic infallibility and progressed in the erection of his Palace of Philosophy under the exclusive guidance of Sovereign Reason and Logic.

Vachaspathimishra. Vachaspathimishra, a great commentator on many sastric texts—Mimamsa, Advaita (the *Bhāmati*), Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Nyaya—is truly remarkable for his dispassionate judgment. He is a precursor of the author of the *Sartadarsanasaṅgraha* in judicial impartiality.

daughter's daughter, Didda, was the queen of Kshemagupta of Kashmir (950—958), and hence the friendly relations between the two powers. The next ruler Jayapala (965—1001) came into conflict with the Muslim rulers of Ghazni, which had been seized in 933 by Alptigin, a Turkish slave. His kingdom extended from Jalalabad to Sirhind and from Kashmir to Multan. He changed his capital from Und to Bhatinda (the Patiala State). In 977 Sabuktigin, the slave and son-in-law of Alptigin, became king of Ghazni, and his aggressions ultimately resulted in the defeat of Jayapala, who lost his dominions to the west of the Indus including Peshawar. His son Ismail who succeeded him in 997 was deposed by his brother, Mahmud of Ghazni, in 998, and the latter defeated and captured Jayapala at Peshawar in 1001, after a tough fight. Consequently the Shahi after his release committed suicide.

Anandapala. Jayapala's son and successor Anandapala (1001—1013) refused permission to Mahmud to march through his own territory to Multan and in consequence was overpowered and pursued by the Sultan in 1005, while his second son, Sukhapala, was captured and, after his acceptance of Islam, made Mahmud's representative in India when he hurried back to Ghazni to defend his dominions against Turkish invaders. Now Anandapala generously offered his services to his conqueror instead of exploiting that opportunity. But Sukhapala abjured Islam and revolted against his master. Soon Mahmud returned to India in 1007, seized the rebel, and imprisoned him for life. Anandapala's inactivity in favour of the Sultan was extremely ill-advised; the latter found a pretext to invade the former's kingdom in 1008 and reduce him to vassalage.

Trilochanapala. The last of the Brahmana Shahis was Trilochanapala (1013—1021), the first son of Anandapala, who succumbed to the unprovoked attack of Mahmud in 1013, in spite of the help received from Kashmir and

his own courageous conduct. Though he made subsequent efforts to regain his position, he failed, and his dynasty came to an end in 1021. Though the Shahis lost their independence and power, they were much influential at the Kashmir court and their name commanded much respect.

Greatness of the Shahis Alberuni refers to "the energetic founder of the Hindu Shahi dynasty" and observes "In all their grandeur, they (the Shahis) never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing", thus confirming the eulogy pronounced on them by Kalhana. The Turki and Brahmana Shahis remained for long the watch dogs of the North Western frontier of India. If their services to this country had been better appreciated by their Indian contemporaries and if they had been better supported by the latter, their achievements would have been more substantial. In spite of the evidence of their own coins and of Alberuni and Kalhana their genealogy and chronology are not sufficiently clear.

SECTION II THE GURJARA PRATHARAS OF KANAUJ (Contd.)

Mahipala I Mahipala I (914—943) maintained his imperial position intact till 916 when his decisive overthrow by Indra III Rashtrakuta marked the beginning of the disruption of the Gurjara Pratihara Empire. Though that conqueror's death in the following year prevented the Rashtrakutas from exploiting their great victory and though Mahipala recovered a large part of his empire with the aid of his feudatories like the Chandellas the imperial power became more nominal than real. After Mahipala I came Mahendrapala II, Devapala, Vinayakapala, Mahipala II, Vatsaraja II and Vijayapala, whose chronology is uncertain. Devapala was deprived of his most cherished possession an image of Vishnu by

Yasovarman Chandella. During the latter half of the tenth century, the Paramaras and the Chandellas were the most powerful of the Pratihara feudatories who had become independent, the others being the Solankis of Anhilvad and the Kalachuris of Tripuri.

Rajyapala. When Rajyapala Gurjara ascended the throne of Kanauj between 960 and 1018, his kingdom was practically confined to the land between the Ganges and the Jumna. Dr. Ray, relying on contemporary Muslim chronicles, rejects the story, of Ferishta, the Muslim historian of the seventeenth century, that on two occasions (in 991 and 1008) the Shahis were helped in their contest with the kings of Ghazni by a confederacy of Indian states including Kanauj; "there is no evidence outside Ferishta that this common danger galvanised the Indian states of Northern India into common action."* When Mahmud of Ghazni invaded the kingdom of Kanauj in 1018-9, Rajyapala submitted to him without a struggle; still the imperial city was sacked by the conqueror. Soon after his departure, the Pratihara king lost his life in consequence of the invasion of Kanauj by the incensed Chandella prince Vidyadbara, who wanted to punish the cowardice of its ruler exhibited in the late happenings. Thus the great Gurjara-Pratihara Empire came to an inglorious end. Inscriptions mentioning Trilochanapala and Yasahpala show that the Pratiharas had lost Kanauj, which was occupied by Chandradeva Gahadavala about 1090. The Pratiharas were followers of Saiva and Vaishnava cults, with special devotion to Bhagavati.

SECTION III. MAHMUD OF GHAZNI

The Yaminis. Mahmud, a Turk by nationality and the eldest son of Sabuktigin, was born in 971. His early literary training was supplemented by his association with the administration and warfare of his father, who how-

* Ray, op. cit., I, p. 32.

ever appointed his younger son, Ismail, to succeed him, and died in 997. Mahmud ousted his brother and seized the throne of Ghazni in the following year. Thus coming into possession of a principality consisting of Afghanistan and Khorasan or Eastern Persia, he extended it in 999 by the conquest of Seistan, and his position was recognised by the Khalif who bestowed upon him the title of Yamin ud Daulah. Hence he and his successors have been called the Yaminis.

Mahmud's Invasions of India. In accordance with his vow to wage war with the infidels of India every year, Mahmud is said to have conducted seventeen expeditions. (1) About 1000 he raided the Indian frontier and captured a few places. (2) Next year witnessed his overthrow of Jayapala Shahi and plunder of India. In 1002 he was engaged in putting down rebels in Seistan. (3) In 1004 he plundered Uch and on his return home was harassed by the Muslim ruler of Multan against whom a punitive expedition was undertaken in 1005. (4) On his refusal to co-operate with the invader Anandapala Shahi was defeated and made to flee, and subsequently Mahmud secured the submission of Multan. He hastened back to Ghazni to defend his kingdom against a Turkish invasion which he repelled, and on this occasion Indians formed a division of his army. (5) In 1007 he came to India again and chastised the rebel Sukhapala, whose story has already been told. (6) Anandapala was finally reduced to the position of a feudatory in 1008 after a severe contest which unexpectedly turned in Mahmud's favour. After plundering Kangra the Sultan returned home and captured Ghor in 1009. (7) In the following year his objective was Delhi, but he was satisfied with a victory near Karnal and immense booty. (8) In 1011 he strengthened his position at Multan. (9) In the campaign of 1013 he overthrew Trilochanapala Shahi and sent to his capital many innocent Indians of status who became slaves of ordinary shopkeepers. (10) In 1014 he

plundered Thanesar, destroyed its idols other than the chief one, which was despatched to Ghazni where it was placed in such a way that the believers might tread upon it. (11) His invasion of Kashmir in the following year was a failure, and he returned home a sadder man, 1016 and 1017 required his presence in Khorasan. (12) During 1018—9 he enriched himself by the spoliation of Mathura (Muttra) and at Kanauj secured the submission of Rajyapala Pratihara. This was the most remarkable of the Indian expeditions led by Mahmud so far; the booty carried away was large and Indian slaves became conspicuous in his empire; with the spoils of war, the Sultan built a great mosque and a college at Ghazni. (13) In 1021 Vidyadhara Chandella who had killed Rajyapala Pratihara for his cowardice became himself a craven at the sight of the Muslim army and took to his heels, according to one chronicle. (14) Mahmud came to India again in the same year, and after his second failure against Kashmir, he annexed the Shahi territory of the Panjab to his empire. (15) In 1022 he failed to capture Gwalior and Kalinjar.

The Somnath Expedition. (16) Three years later, he achieved his greatest triumph in India—the expedition to Somnath (Patan on the coast of Kathiawar above Diu). He is said to have been provoked into undertaking it by the boast of the Brahmans of Somnath that their God Siva was the greatest of the gods and that it was His hostility to the other gods that had been responsible for their overthrow by the idol-breaker. Mahmud made careful preparation for his march through the Indian desert and reached Sakambhari (Sambhar) and thence Anhilvad in 1025. Bhimadeva I Solanki fled from his capital and Mahmud, after defeating his army, arrived at Somnath and captured the fort in spite of its vigorous defence. Subsequently he saw the great temple with "the revenues of 10,000 villages, 1,000 priests, 300 barbers, and 350 dancing girls", with the big *linga* nine feet high above

the floor and fifteen feet on the whole, daily bathed in the Ganges water carried over a distance of 750 miles, and garlanded with Kashmir flowers. He was offered a huge sum of money if he would spare the idol, and against the advice of some of his own followers he broke it on the plea that he was a breaker, not seller, of idols and sent the fragments to Ghazni, Mecca and Medina, though the truth of the story has recently been called in question. With enormous treasures, he returned to Anhilvad and reached Multan *via* Sindh, avoiding the Sambhar route in order to safeguard his booty from the Indian army advancing to contest his retreat, though he experienced some trouble from the Jats. He returned to Ghazni in 1026 and the fame of his Somnath achievement spread in the Muslim world, and the Khalif honoured him with titles. (17) His last Indian expedition in 1027 punished the Jats for their attack on his army during his return from Somnath.

The Empire of Ghazni. In his last years Mahmud suffered from malaria caught during his last Indian campaign, consumption and diarrhoea, and still was busy suppressing rebellions within the empire and carrying on his usual administrative work. He died in 1030 at the age of 59. His extensive empire consisted of Afghanistan, most of Persia and the Panjab but his sphere of influence stretched from the Tigris to the Ganges and Allahabad and from the Caspian and Aral Seas and Trans-Oxiana to the Arabian Sea, Rajputana and Kathiawar—a vast region about 2,000 miles in length and about 1,400 miles in width*.

Mahmud's Character. Mahmud was kind and affectionate to two of his three brothers, but his special treatment of Ismail was forced upon him by the favouritism of his father. In spite of his strictness, he was

* V. Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni* (1931) p. 168-69.

considerate to his officers and even to rebels against his authority. In the choice of his ministers, he was not influenced by considerations other than their ability and fitness. His private life was pure, and he drank moderately. But his attachment to a Turkish slave excited the imagination of romancers. He did not exceed the Koranic number of four wives, and his seven sons were properly trained and well treated. He was a courageous soldier of the Homeric type and the most brilliant general of his age. He was more than a man of war; he was a scholar, an author and a great patron of learning. He was a pious Sunni (orthodox sect), conforming to the dictates of the Koran, with unquestioned faith in God, to whom he appealed for help on the battle field. Though a friend of the poor, he was no friend of non-Sunni Muslims, whom he persecuted. As regards his attitude towards the Hindus, he gave them protection at Ghazni. It is said that the object of his Indian invasions was conversion of the Hindus, and also that he was more ambitious and greedy than fanatical. Though he did not generally force them to embrace Islam, he gave facilities for their conversion and extended concessions to the converted. To defend his destruction of Hindu temples by pointing out that it was effected in the course of warfare in order to get at the treasures accumulated and hidden in them is one-sided and overlooks the humiliation to which the idols were subjected even after they had been broken to pieces. If his objective was not conversion, it is difficult to see what purpose his desecration of temples and idols would have served other than the glorification of Islam in a way most objectionable to the Hindus, and we cannot therefore exonerate him completely from the charge of fanaticism, though we cannot but concede that the destruction of monuments to some extent in the course of protracted warfare is inevitable in order to break the resistance of the enemy by seizing his wealth and removing his points of vantage. If Mahmud's object was conversion of India,

his spoliation of temples, without minding the psychology of the Hindus, would have ill served his purpose, and a great sovereign of his type could not but have perceived the discordance between his aims and his means. Therefore it is hard to resist the conclusion that Mahmud was to a certain extent fanatical. Further his temper was autocratic, and he would not tolerate any other point of view than his own. Still, on the whole, the greatness of the man is unquestionable. But for his liberalism Alberuni could not have produced his great work on India.

Achievements Conquest As a conqueror, Mahmud was a magnificent success. He extended his father's kingdom to such an extent that before his own death he partitioned it between two of his sons. The sphere of his military operations was wider than his annexations and his activity was unceasing for more than thirty years. His victories were due not only to the weaknesses and follies of his victims but also to his military genius. Though he did not innovate on the military practices of his age he made the best use of the methods of warfare in vogue. Though his soldiers belonged to different nationalities, he maintained firm control over them. His personal courage and his passion for living dangerously inspired his followers and he was not terrified by natural obstacles, neither big rivers nor extensive deserts checked the course of his victorious career. The rapidity of his movements confounded his adversaries. Though he missed his aim on a few occasions he did not taste defeat and his enemies sometimes abjectly surrendered to him without striking a blow for their freedom. His audacious strategy during his penultimate Indian expedition has immortalised his name. He was not only a great general but also a great king.

Patronage of Culture Besides his great qualities intellectual and moral Mahmud was an admirer and

patron of learning. He provided Ghazni with a great mosque and other buildings, a University and a library. His tomb and *minar*, or tower of victory, alone exist now. His silver *tanla* minted at Mahmudpur (Lahore) exhibits his name and the Muslim *kalima*, or confession of faith, in Sanskrit. His court was adorned by Firdausi, "the Persian Homer", the author of the great epic, the *Shah-nama*; Utbi, a historian: Baihaki, "the Oriental Pevens"; Unsuri, the poet-laureate, "the greatest genius of the age"; and above all, from our point of view, Alberuni (973—1048), the author of the *Kitab-ul-Hind* (1030), who along with Firdausi was not generously treated by Mahmud.

Alberuni. Alberuni was not only a scientist and philosopher but also a Sanskritist. He was an expert in astronomy, mathematics, physics, chemistry, mineralogy, geography and chronology, and it is no easy task to translate his work. He followed Mahmud to India, lived in the Panjab, studied Sanskrit, and acquainted himself with Hindu customs and culture. He admired the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad Gita* and was profoundly impressed with the achievements of the Hindus in many fields of learning. His *Kitab* is an invaluable guide to the study of ancient India 'in general and of Indian culture in particular. He translated many astronomical and philosophical works from Sanskrit into Arabic. He notes the defective historical and chronological sense of the Hindus and their supreme contempt for the learning of other peoples, born of their consciousness that they were the most learned people in the world, if anybody told them that there were great scholars in Persia, he would be regarded as an ignoramus or a liar. His appreciation of the Hindu intellectual achievements, without the prejudice natural to a Muslim, is truly remarkable. "The work of Alberuni is unique in Muslim literature, as an earnest attempt to study an idolatrous world of thought, not proceeding from the intention of attacking

and refuting it, but uniformly showing the desire to be just and impartial, even when the opponent's views are declared to be inadmissible"*. His writings "almost seem to be the work of some deeply read modern European"†. Avicenna, the great master of philosophy and medicine whose works dominated Europe from the twelfth to the seventeenth century refused to go to the court of Mahmud of Ghazni.

Mahmud's Government Though Mahmud was constantly on the watch to crush rebellions within his empire, keeping himself in touch with the administration during the closing years of his reign and though he gave much attention to the proper administration of justice he did not consolidate his conquests. He succeeded only imperfectly in maintaining peace and order and ensuring the safety of person and property. His government was an absolute despotism kept intact by his ability, prestige and vigilance. His death was followed by the successful reign of his son Masud, but the latter was defeated in 1040 by the Seljuk Turks who seized Ghazni in 1117 and made the Yamin Bahram king. In 1150 he was defeated by a chief of Ghor and the Yaminis lost Ghazni and retired to the Panjab. Ghazni was incorporated in the kingdom of Ghor in 1173. In 1167 Muhammad of Ghor ended the dynasty of Mahmud of Ghazni and put the last Yamin Khusru Malik, to death in 1201.

SECTION IV THE SOLANKIS OF ANHILVAD

Mularaja I and Bhumadeva I Anhilvad (Patana on the Sarasvati Gujarat) the foundation of the Chapolatas in the eighth century, was included in the Gurjara Pratibara Empire whose decline coupled with that of the Rashtrakutas in the second half of the tenth century, led to the establishment of the Solankis (Chalukyas =

* E. C. Sachau *Alberuni's India* (1910) II p. 250

† Sykes *op cit.* II p. 60

Chaulukyas) by Mularaja I (c 961—c 996), probably the son of a Chapotkata princess, by the overthrow of his maternal uncle, the last Chapotkata. He came into conflict with the Chahamanas, the Paramaras and the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani and with the rulers of Cutch and Sindh. He was a worshipper of Siva at Somnath. After Chamundaraja (996—1010) and Durlabharaja (1010—1022) came Bhimadeva I (1022—1064), during the early part of whose reign occurred the expedition of Mahmud of Ghazni to Somnath. Though indigenous chronicles and inscriptions are available for this period of Gujarat history, there is no reference in them to that destructive raid. It may be remembered that there is no reference to Alexander's invasion of India in indigenous records. Bhimadeva regained his capital after the invader's departure, and was involved in the conflicts of his neighbours. He contributed to the ultimate fall of Bhoja I Paramara and of Karna Kalachuri. The records of these dynasties claiming victories over one another are conflicting and hard to harmonise.

Jayasimha. Bhimadeva I was succeeded by Karnadeva I (1064—1094), whose reign witnessed the building of temples, the foundation of a city named after him, and other pacific activities; he was the patron of Bilhana. He was followed by Jayasimha Siddharaja (1094—1144) who warred with Malwa for twelve years, overthrew both Naravarman and Yasovarman, and annexed the country. He and Madanavarman Chandella claim to have won victories over each other. Jayasimha maintained friendly relations with Yasah-Karna Kalachuri and Govindachandra Gahadavala. He is said to have been successful in his war with the Arabs of Sindh. From the find-spots of his inscriptions, we may be sure of his possession of Gujarat, Kathiawar, Cutch, Malwa and Southern Rajputana. He founded the Simha era of 1113-4. Though he patronised Jains like Hemachandra, he was a staunch Saiva who built many temples, constructed a great lake,

and encouraged the study of logic, astrology, and the *Puranas*

Kumarapala. As Jayasimha died sonless, his relation Kumarapala (1144—1173) succeeded him after a short struggle, with the help of the Jains, and rooted out all opposition to his rule. Like his predecessor, he waged wars with the Chahamanas of Sakambhari, the Paramaras, the Kalachuris and some minor chiefs. The Jain authorities describe his conversion to Jainism under the influence of his *guru* Hemachandra. He eschewed meat and wine and interdicted the slaughter of animals throughout his kingdom, making it a capital crime. The curious story is narrated that a merchant was punished with the confiscation of his property for killing a louse, and with his wealth a house for lice was erected! The king prohibited meat-eating, gambling and prostitution and revoked the law confiscating the property of the childless. Though much exaggerated by Jain writers, there is no doubt that Kumarapala was a great exponent of *ahimsa* and morality. Though a Jain he frequented Somnath and his inscriptions contain invocations to Siva. There are no adequate reasons for thinking that his patronage of Jainism was due to his desire to secure the continued support of the Jains who had helped him to the throne and for suspecting the genuineness of his faith in Jainism. He and his predecessor ruled over an extensive kingdom built partly on the ruins of that of the Paramaras, and raised their own dynasty to power and prestige.

Kutb-ud-din looted Anhilvad, after a struggle for two years and an initial defeat inflicted on him by Bhimadeva II. The Solanki dynasty was overthrown by Alaud-din Khilji towards the close of the thirteenth century (1297); its history is indebted to Hemachandra's historical work, which was completed by another Jain monk in 1256, and to the *Prabandhachintamani* (1805) of the Jain Acharya, Merutunga.

SECTION V. THE PARAMARAS OF UJJAIN AND DHAR

Munja and Sindhuraja. Upendra, the founder of the Paramara dynasty, was followed by Vairisimha I and Siyaka I. It was Vakpatiraja I, the fourth prince, who raised the status of his family. Vairisimha II (first half of the tenth century) held Dhara and came into conflict with the Pratiharas, who dislodged him from Malwa. He retired to Gujarat and became feudatory to the Rashtrakutas, or continued to be subordinate to them. His successor, Harsha Siyaka II (c 948—c 974), took advantage of the decline of the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Rashtrakutas, and re-established his power in Malwa. Dhanapala, the author of the *Paiyalachchhi*, a Prakrit dictionary (972-3), lived at his court. Vakpatiraja II Munja (974—995) came into conflict with the neighbouring powers, the Kalachuris, the Solankis and the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani, and his successful martial career ended in his defeat by Taila II of Kalyani. That he was 'a poet' is vouched for by epigraphical and literary references and by the quotation of his verses in later works. He patronised Padmagupta who wrote later the *Natasahasankacharita*; the brothers, Dhananjaya and Dhanika, writers on dramaturgy; and Halayudha, the author of a commentary on a metrical work. He built many temples, and excavated a tank at Dhar, called Munjasagara. He was succeeded by his brother Sindhuraja Navasahasanka (995—1010). Padmagupta's work contains references to the king's victories mostly of the

conventional type, but not without historical significance * Sindhuraja's victories were qualified by his failure against Chamundaraja Solanki

Bhoja I Military Career Bhoja I (1010--1055) the greatest of the Paramaras was a renowned warrior. He seems to have wiped off the disgrace of Munja's defeat by vanquishing Jyashimha II Chalukya of Kalyani. He conquered Indraratha, a feudatory of the Gangas of Kalinga and the rulers of North Konkan. He was victorious over Gangayadeva Kalachuri but not lucky in his attack on Vidyadhar Chandella and the chief of Gwalior. But he was able to seize Kanauj and inflict a defeat on the Chahamanas of Sakambhari though he failed against another branch of the Chahamanas. He triumphed over Bhimadeva I Solanki but finally was overthrown by the joint efforts of Somesvara I of Kalyani, Bhimadeva of Anhilvad and Lakshmi Karni of Tripuri. The original capital of the Paramaras was Dhara (Dhar the Dhar State Central India). Under Sivala II Ujjain was the chief city. Bhoja I remodelled Dhar and made it his capital. His chief minister was Rohaka. His generals Kulachandra (a Jain), Sada and Suraditva contributed to the expansion of the kingdom which extended from Bansvara to Nasik and from Kaira to Bhilsa. Though his warlike career ended in a tragedy he played a distinguished part in the military annals of his age but never came into contact with Mahmud of Ghazni. He lived up to a great ideal described in one of his inscriptions "Of wealth which is as fleeting as a flash of lightning or a bubble of water there are two good uses and only two one is its employment in charities and the other is the maintenance thereby of other men's fame."

Author and Patron. So many works relating to several subjects have been attributed to Bhoja that the

* D. C. Ganguly *History of the Paramara Dynasty* (1933) pp. 85-77

doubt is natural whether he was their author or patron. But it is unquestionable that he was not only a great patron of letters, but also a distinguished writer. "We have no real knowledge to disprove his claim to polymathy exhibited in a large variety of works"* The *champu* named after him, called also the *Ramayana champu*, is a widely appreciated work belonging to the literary form which combines verse and prose. His *Sarasvatikanthabharana* and *Sringaraparakasa* are treatises on poetics, the *Yuktikalpataru* deals with *niiti* or politics. He is said to have written on horses and their diseases. He commented on the *Yoga Sutra* in his valuable *Rajamartanda*, which discusses concentration from various points of view. His *Samaranganusutradhara* deals with architecture, town-planning, and other allied subjects, and his *Tattvaparakasa*, with *Saivism*. The scholars at his court were Dhanapala and his brother Sobhana, and probably Sita, the poetess. Many others must have flourished along with them, but we have no reliable information regarding the former.

Public Works Bhoja was a great builder, but his buildings were destroyed or turned into mosques after the Muslim conquest of Malwa. The Kamalmaula Mosque at Dhar, surmised to be Bhoja's *Sala* or College, exhibits on its two pillars two charts, alphabetical and grammatical, the first in the form of a single snake and the second of two intertwined snakes†. He founded Bhojpur (near Bhopal) and excavated a grand lake near it, more than 200 square miles in area showing wonderful engineering skill, in the fifteenth century the lake was filled up and converted into agricultural land by Hashang Shah, Sultan of Malwa. A *Siva* temple named after Bhoja exists in the same place. It is not known definitely whether the Iron Pillar at Dhar 43 feet 4 inches in height, belongs to his reign or to that of Arjunavarman (thirteenth century).

* A. B. Keith *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (1928) p. 53

† P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Bhoja Raja* (1931), between pages 98 and 99

Paramaras were divided among his successors. The difficulties of the Solankis after the death of Kumarapala provided the opportunity for the Paramara recovery of Malwa. Vindhavarman regained Dhar about 1192, and his successor Subhatavarman consolidated his position, probably during 1192—1211.

Arjunavarman Subhatavarman's son Arjunavarman (1211—1215) was able to recall in some degree the times of Munja and Bhoja. A Sanskrit drama *Parijatamanjari* by Madana in four Acts inscribed on two slabs in the mosque at Dhar—two Acts on one slab and two other Acts on another slab which is missing—eulogises Arjunavarman, who commented on the *Amarusataka*. After his death the Paramaras declined slowly. In 1234 Iltutmish of the Slave Dynasty and in 1292 Ala'ud-din Khilji plundered Malwa, which was finally conquered by the latter in 1305. The Paramaras were devoted to Siva and patronised Brahmanism, though Jainism was in a flourishing condition in their kingdom, thanks to the encouragement it received from Munja, Bhoja, Naravahman, Vindhavarman and Arjunavarman.

SECTION VI THE KALACHURIS OF TRIPURI

Gangeyadeva Vikramaditya The Kalachuris whose inscriptions are found from the sixth century claim to be descended from the epic Haihayas, and their use of the Traikutaka or Chedi era of 248—9 need not connect them with the Traikutakas and the Abhiras. They were powerful before the advent of the Chalukyas of Badami and the Gurjara Pratiharas from Bundelkhand to Gujarat and Nasik chiefly in the Upper Narmada Valley, and the growth of the Chalukya and Pratihara Empires restricted their power to Dahala (the region around Jabulpore), with their capital at Tripuri (Tewar, six miles from Jabulpore). Hence they are called the Haihavas or Kalachuris of Chedi, Dahala or Tripuri. The historical founder of the dynasty was Kokkalla I (c. 875—925) who

at Benares called Karmameru and like his father, was a Saurya. Some have compared him with Napoleon. But at last he sustained a series of defeats at the hands of the Palas, the Chandellas, the Paramaras, the Solankis and the Chalukyas of Kalhana. His son and successor was Yashakarna (1073—1125) who is said to have ruled as far as the Vengi kingdom and North Bihar. The rise of the Gahadvalas affected his position in the Ganges basin and he was overpowered by the Chandellas and the Paramaras. Ganga Karna's dynastic position was further weakened by the revival of the Chandella power under Madanavarman. The next rulers Narasimha (c. 1155—1170) and his brother Jayasimha recovered a part of the lost Kalachuri territory from the Chandellas. Vijaya-simha (1180—1195) and his successor Ajayasimha are mere names in the dynastic list and the Kalachuris were conquered by the Delhi Sultans between 1231 and 1309 though they seem to have continued as a local power near Tripuri till the commencement of the fifteenth century when they were superseded by the Gond.

SECTION VII. THE CHANDELLAS OF BUNDELKHAND

Dhanga Nannula, the founder of the Chandella dynasty was in possession of Khajuraho under the Pratiharas in the second quarter of the ninth century. The fortunes of his family were promoted by Valpati and his sons Jayasakti and Vijayasakti. Jayasakti or Jeja ruled over the territory called after him Jejabhuti or Bundelkhand. Vijayasakti's son Rahula and the latter's son Harsha, the father of Yasovarman I, were loyal to the Pratiharas during the dark days of their conflict with the Rashtrakutas in the first half of the tenth century. Harsha co-operated with the loyalists in the restoration of the Pratihara Empire but at the same time strengthened his own position by matrimonial connections with the Chahamanas and perhaps with the Kalachuris. Yaso-

year there was another conflict between the two and Mahmud failed against Gwalior and Kalinjar. There is no doubt that he found the Chandella kingdom under Vidyadhara to be very different from the Pratihara dominions under Rajyapala. The next Chandella ruler was Vijayapala, who was followed by Devavarman about 1051. We do not know the final date of Vidyadhara who must have ceased to rule before that date.

Kirtivarman During the reigns of Vijayapala Devavarman and Kirtivarman the Chandellas were reduced to subjection by Lakshmi Karna Kalachuri. Kirtivarman's gold coins are close imitations of those of Gangeyadeva Kalachuri. After Lakshmi Karna's defeat and death about 1073, Kirtivarman revived the Chandella power, and Krishnamisra's drama, *Prabodhachandrodaya* refers to the services of his chief feudatory Gopala to Kirtivarman against Karna. Gopala's victory over Karna leading to the rise of Kirtivarman is compared to the victory of discrimination over delusion leading to the rise of knowledge, in conformity with the allegorical character of the play. Besides patronising that dramatist Kirtivarman probably built a Siva temple at Mahoba and other edifices at Kalinjar and Ajrugharh and excavated lakes at Mahoba and Chanderi (in and near Bundelkhand). His only known date is 1098. He was succeeded by Salla Ishanavarman and the latter by Jayavarman whose copper coins exhibit the figure of Hanuman.

far as the neighbourhood of Jubbulpore. The next important ruler, Paramardī (1167—1202), was defeated by the Chahamanā Prithviraja III, who is said to have seized Mahoba and raided Kalinjar about 1183. He was supported in his troubles by the Gahadavalas, and before he could rehabilitate his position, Kutb ud-dīn Aibak besieged Kalinjar in 1202 and captured it, and Mahoba in the following year. But Trailokyavarman (1202—1241) retook Kalinjar about 1203 and re-established the power of his dynasty, which was overthrown by Ala ud-dīn Khiljī in 1309. But Kalinjar continued to be under the Chandellas. Rani Durgavati who fought against Akbar and died in 1564 was a Chandella princess and Kalinjar fell finally in 1569.

SECTION VIII THE CHAHAMANAS OF SAMBHAR AND AJMER

raja's love affairs. He founded a college at Ajmer and was influenced by the example of Bhoja of Dhār.

Prithviraja III After Prithviraja II (1164—1170) and Somesvara (1170—1177) came the latter's son Prithviraja III (1177—1192) whose achievements are chronicled in his protégé Chand's Hindi epic, *Prithviraj Raso*, a difficult work of great literary value and in the Sanskrit *Prithvirajajayya*, the latter being of greater historical value as its genealogy is confirmed by inscriptions. He is said to have carried away the daughter of Jayachandra Gahadavala about 1175, and overthrown Parmardi Chandella. The foundation of an era in supersession of the Vikrama era is attributed to him and explained as the offspring of his hostility to Jayachandra Gahadavala who traced his ancestry to Raja Vikrama. His greatest victory was gained over Muhammad of Ghor in 1191 at Tarain (14 miles from Thanesar), but the vanquished were not pursued by the victors. Sultan Muhammad returned to India in 1192 defeated Prithviraja in the same place and captured and executed him. Ajmer was sieged and the Chahamanas dynasty of Sambhar and Ajmer practically came to an end though Hariraja Prithviraja's brother, continued to rule till 1194 in which year Govindaraja perhaps the son of Prithviraja founded his dynasty at Ranthambhor which was overthrown by Ala ud din Khilji in 1301.

SECTION IX THE GAHADAVALAS OF BENARES AND KANAUJ

Govindachandra The Gahadavalas or Gaharwars are thought to be of Karnata or South Indian origin but the theory that they were Rashtrakutas is not tenable*. The question of their origin is difficult to answer satisfactorily. They rose to power under Chandradeva (c 1080—1100) and ruled over Benares, Avodhya and Kanauj. During the reign of Madanachandra (1100—1114) his son Govindachandra (1114—1155) was all in all and the come

* Tripathi of cit pp 236-260

of the period indicate the growing importance of the Gahadavalas. The inscriptions of the latter exceeding forty, establish his influence and power during the first half of the twelfth century. He clashed with the Yaminis of Lahore and the Palas and advanced as far as Patna and Monghyr thus provoking the naval expedition of the Senas up the Ganges. He was hostile to the Kalachuris but friendly towards the Chandellas and the Cholas. He imposed a tax called *turus/ladanda* which probably means a tax for the defence of the kingdom against Muslims. His gold and copper coins depart from his father's type and imitate the Kalachuri Lakshmi type and their obverse contains his name and a *trisula* (trident). One of his four wives Kumaradevi, was a Buddhist. His minister Lakshmidhara made a digest of law called the *Saurita kalpataru*.

Jayachandra Govindachandra was succeeded by his third son Vijayachandra (1155—1170) and the latter by Jayachandra (1170—1193). They patronised the Mahakavi Sri Harsha author of the *Naishadha* and of a great work called *Khandana khanda bhadya*, defending Advaita. Jayachandra seems to have maintained his position in South Bihar intact against the Senas. The romance of his daughter's abduction by Prithviraja III has already been alluded to. He allied himself with the Chandellas against the Chahamanas. In 1193 Muhammad of Ghor defeated him near Chundwar (Etawah District U.P.) and the Gahadavala dynasty practically disappeared though Harischandra maintained his position till 1200. The Gahadavalas were devoted to Brahmanism in all its forms and favoured Buddhism as is clear from the fact that Queen Kumaradevi was a Buddhist.

SECTION X THE PALAS OF BENGAL AND BIHAR (Contd.)

Mahipala I Narayanapala (857—911) was followed by his son Rajapala (911—935) whose position was a

the Gurjaras was not bettered. Under Gopala II and Vigrahapala II (935—992), there was a revival of the power of the Palas, as evidenced by the Bodhi Gaya and Nalanda inscriptions in a region which had been occupied by the Gurjaras. But the expansion of the Chandella Kingdom created a new danger. Further, during the period 911—992, Northern Bengal was under the Kambojas, who are supposed to be Tibetans or Mongolians. The Kamboja usurpation was ended by Mahipala I (992—1040), whose inscriptions are found from Benares to the Brahmaputra including Northern Bengal. But his imperial efforts were rendered nugatory by the activities of the Chalukyas of Kalyani, the Kalachuris and the Cholas, and the Palas were confined to a small part of Bengal and Bihar by the Sur and Chandra lines of Western and Eastern Bengal respectively. The power of Nayapala (1040—1055) was confined to Bihar, and he came into conflict with Lalshmi Karna Kalachuri. Vigrahapala III (1055—1081) also clashed with that Kalachuri and is said to have defeated him and married his daughter. The Chalukyas of Kalyani are said to have vanquished the Gauda line. During the second half of the eleventh century, the dynasty of Varmanas was in possession of Eastern Bengal and parts of Northern and Western Bengal. Thus the decline of the Palas proceeded rapidly.

the son of Ramapala's minister of war and peace. He is credited with some fresh conquests including Assam. At last he drowned himself in the Ganges because of the death of his maternal uncle who had supported him in his late troubles and tribulations, and one year before his death, he seems to have abdicated. Under Ramapala's son Kumarapala (1126—1130) Assam became independent. His son Gopala III was probably murdered by Madanapala (1130—1150), who ascended the throne but was expelled from Bengal about 1138 by the Senas. His authority continued in South Bihar—Patna and Monghyr. After him came Govindapala (1150—1162) who ruled at Gaya hemmed in by the Gahadavalas and the Senas. Perhaps Indradumna (pala) was the ruler of South Bihar dislodged by Muhammad bin Bakhtiar in 1197, but this is denied by Dr Ray*. Though the Palas were staunch Buddhists patronising literature, art, the tantric cult and Universities, they were well disposed towards Brahmanism.

Art The art of the Pala Empire is seen at its best in the images of Tara the Divine Saviour, in human shape and of the Buddha. But the image of Marichi has three faces including one with the pig's snout and eight arms brandishing various weapons. We have noted the temple at Paharpur and the extension of its influence to Indonesia, which was also affected by the Nalanda bronzes and smooth black slate images. "even the stone sculpture approximates to metal work."† The Pala paintings of the eleventh century continue the traditions established by the famous sculptors and painters, Dhiman and Bitpala of the ninth century. Therefore 'it would be incorrect to call the last six centuries of Indian Buddhism a period of artistic sterility'‡ Still the symptoms of decline are

* Ray op cit., I p 371 n

† Coomaraswamy op cit p 114

‡ Vogel op cit., p. 63.

unmistakable many monstrous and mechanically produced images, paucity of illustrations of the Buddha legend, and representation of events by gestures, symbols and tiny figures. This symbolism betrays lack of creative power and infertility of imagination. Pala art was not however devoid of some vital elements, whose influence extended beyond India. The Indian Buddhist *stupa* attained its full maturity and unequalled excellence at Borobudui (Java) during A.D. 750—850.

SECTION XI THE SENAS OF BENGAL

Origin. Samantasena (c. 1050—1075), the founder of the Sena dynasty of Bengal, is described as a Karnata-Kshatriya and also as a Brahmadeva. "It is not unlikely that Samantasena, like Mayurasaiman, was a Brahman, and like him entered the royal service and adopting a Kshatriya's life soon gained prominence" as a soldier. His family must have joined the Karnata invasions of Northern India in the eleventh century or earlier. Names with the suffix *sena* are found in the lists of Jain Acharyas of the Dharwar District, and Jayasimha II of Kalyani (1015—1042) changed his religion from Jainism to Saivism. Therefore it is thought probable by some scholars that the Senas of Bengal were originally Jains of Karnata who became Saivas and accompanied the northern expedition of the Chalukyas of Kalyani during the reign of Virghapala III.

Vijayasena and Ballalasena. After Hemantasena (1075—1097) came Vijayasena (1097—1159), who seems to have helped Ramapala against the Karmatas. He married a Sura princess and dislodged the Varmanas of Bengal. He expelled Madanapala from Northern Bengal. He is said to have conquered Nepal, Assam and Kalunga and sent a naval expedition up the Ganges. Thus in the period following the death of Ramapala, he founded the

* Ray, *op cit.*, I, p. 356

Sena Kingdom, which included parts of Eastern, Western and Northern Bengal. He assumed the titles of *Paramamahesvara* and *Arurishabhasankara*, built a Siva temple, excavated a lake, founded Vijayapura, and patronised Umapati. He was succeeded by Ballalasena (1159—1185), who maintained intact the position he had inherited from his father. His kingdom was divided into five provinces, and he had three capitals—Gaudapura, Vikramapura and Suvarnagrama. He compiled the *Danasagara* on ceremonial gifts in 1170 with the help of his guru Anuruddha. He left the *Adbhutasagara* on omens unfinished. He was devoted to Siva, his titles being *Paramamahesvara* and *Aissankasankara*.

Lakshmanasena Ballalasena's son and successor Lakshmanasena (1185—1206) is said to have conquered and erected pillars of victory in Halanga, Assam, Benares and Allahabad, but probably he ruled those regions. He was a great patron of learning, 'the five gems' of his court are Umapati, Jayadeva (author of the *Gita Govinda*), Dhoya (the *Paranaduta* in imitation of Kalidasa's *Ughaduta*), Halayudha (the *Brahmana-sarvasva*) and Sridharadasa (the *Sadul tilarnamrita* in which some of the king's verses are quoted). Lakshmanasena completed the *Adbhutasagara* of his father*. He assumed the titles of *Madanasankara* and *Paramavaishnava*, and was slowly inclining towards Vaishnavism. Muhammad bin Bakhtyar captured and destroyed Nadia (Bengal) in 1199 and made Lakhnauti his capital. The Muslim historian eulogises Lakshmanasena's good government and generosity, when he was surprised by the advance party of eighteen horsemen of the Muslim army led by Bakhtyar, he fled "barefooted by the back part of his palace". This was the inglorious end of the Sena dynasty, but Lakshmanasena's successors ruled in Eastern Bengal till about 1230 or 1280.

* S. K. De *Sanskrit Literature and the Sena Kings of Bengal*. A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies, pp. 50-74.

SECTION XII MUHAMMAD OF GHOR

Muhammad's Career The Yaminis or Ghaznavids were dispossessed of Ghazni which was annexed by Ghiyas ud din of Ghor in 1173. His younger brother Shihab ud din (Muizz ud din Muhammad) governed Ghazni and loyally co-operated with his elder brother till the latter's death in 1203. He invaded India in 1175 and captured Multan and Uch. In 1178 his further progress was checked by Bhimadeva II of Anhilvad but in 1179 he captured Peshwar and by 1187 he had completed the overthrow of the Yaminis in the Panjab. Though defeated in the first battle of Tarain (1191), his generalship triumphed over Prithviraja III in the second battle (1192), which established the superiority of his military equipment and tactics over those of the Hindus. Entrusting his conquests to Kutb ud-din Aibak and giving him full liberty of action to expand them he went back to Ghazni. In 1193 he came to India again, overthrew Jai Chandra of Kanauj, plundered Benares and returned home. In 1195 he made Kutb ud din Viceroy of India and captured a few places but failed against Gwalior. For five years he was busy along with his brother in attending to matters at home and on the latter's death in 1203 became sole ruler of the dominions of Ghor. His defeat by the Turks in 1205 impaired his authority in the Panjab but he came to India and re-established his position. On his return home he was murdered in 1206 on the banks of the Indus. In the meantime his conquest of Northern India had been pushed forth by Kutb ud din Aibak and Muhammad bin Bakhtyar but the latter had died after his disastrous Tibetan expedition (1205). Kutb ud din stepped into the place of his master who had no son to succeed him, became Sultan of Delhi in 1206, founded the Slave Dynasty and died in 1210.

Achievements The key note of the successful career of Muhammad of Ghor is his co-operation with his brother and the trust he reposed in his able lieutenant Kutb ud-

din Aibak who in his turn utilised the services of Muhammad bin Bakhtyar. The conjoint endeavours of these men are in marked contrast with the lack of co-operative effort characteristic of the Hindu opposition to them. Muhammad Ghoris generalship was exemplified in the second battle of Tarain. Though he yearned for Central Asian conquests he planned the conquest of Northern India and was not satisfied with the role of a plunderer. His statesmanship is revealed not only in his faith in trust begetting trust but also in his policy of founding an empire in India. The occasional checks to his martial progress only stimulated him to fresh efforts crowned with final success. He was a conqueror in the real sense of the term in so far as he administered the conquered territory and strengthened his hold on it. In short his work in India was constructive and permanent, 'from the days of Muhammad Ghorī to the catastrophe of the Indian Mutiny there was always a Muhammadan king upon the throne of Delhi. But though Mahmud of Ghazni was a military genius and the sovereign of a mighty empire, his work was impermanent and his activities were oppressive and destructive to India and merely added to the ephemeral glory of Ghazni and to his personal prestige. Unlike Muhammad, he was an undefeated general in spite of his disappointment on a few occasions but his efforts did not lead to the permanent establishment of Islam in India. Though he was a great patron of learning—and Muhammad could not show a similar record—he was more fanatical and less statesmanlike than the other. His unique gold coins contain the image of Goddess Lakshmi in imitation of the Hindu coins of Kanauj.

Downfall of the Hindus The triumph of Muhammad of Chor was due not only to the factors so far mentioned but also to the defects of the Hindu powers overthrown by him and his coadjutors. It is astonishing that in spite of the valour and courage of the Pajputs and the numeri

ral superiority of the Hindus, they were conquered decisively, though subsequently the conquerors experienced many set backs and vicissitudes of fortune. Rulers of conspicuous ability flourished in Northern India, Munja Paramara and Dhanga Chandella in the tenth century, Bhoja Paramara, Vidyadhara Chandella and the Kalachuris Gangeyadeva and Lakshmi Karna in the eleventh, Govindachandra Gahadavala, the Solankis, Jayasimha Siddharaja and Kumarapala, and Prithviraja Chahamana in the twelfth. Further there was Anantavarman Chodaganga in Kalinga, occupying an intermediate position between Northern and Southern India. Therefore the materials for a successful resistance to foreign invasion were not wanting.

Alleged Causes Various reasons have been assigned for the downfall of the Hindus some of them being trivial, speculative and misleading. The spotting of Buddhism as the villain of the piece is untenable, though in some cases as in Sindh Buddhist pacifism was disastrous. But the extreme *ahimsa* doctrine of the Jains did not check their martial ardour during our period. Buddhism was prevalent on the eve of the Muslim advent only in some parts of India as in Bengal and Bihar and even there the Sena ascendancy cannot be overlooked. The Rajputs were staunch Hindus. Therefore during the period in question there was practically no Buddhism to hang on the charge of betraying India to her foreign conquerors. Some have emphasised the increasing addiction of India to vegetarianism and its adverse effects on the national physique and martial spirit*. Some have held the caste system responsible for Hindu military inefficiency. The condition of women as well has been pressed into service though we know that the Muslims did not double their resources by emancipating their women. One writer says that all our woes began with the introduction of the

* Valdiya, *op. cit.*, III (1926), pp. 260-72

exogamous marriage system among the Hindus ages before their fall, the point here is that the prohibition of *sagotra* marriages restricted the choice of partners in life and weakened the race*. But we have already observed that India on the eve of the Muslim conquest did not lack virility or courage

Real Causes In two respects the Muslims were in a better position than the Hindus, their religious and social unity and their superior military equipment were coupled with their readiness to sacrifice everything for success in a country where their defeat would be particularly disastrous whereas the Hindu caste system which was not destructive of military efficiency in indigenous struggles could not be regarded as a source of strength against a casteless people with a democratic religion. Further the Hindu states on the eve of the foreign invasion had exhausted themselves by their perennial and quixotic conflicts, and their mutual ill will, and jealousy made their co-operation against the common enemy almost impossible. We have seen that the opinion that a few confederacies were formed to resist the foreign penetration rests on a slender basis and that the Hindu powers were defeated separately. Imperialism in India did not aim at a centralised government conducive to the unification and consolidation of the people the *dityajayas* of Indian dynasts were costly personal triumphs and the vanquished became victors in due course and *vice versa*. We noticed during this period a large number of Hindu states frequently carrying on raids into neighbouring and distant regions. In short disunion and variety were fostered in many ways and the Hindus unable to hang together hanged separately. Above all the age was deficient in military ability comparable to that of Mahmud of Ghazni or even to that of Muhammad Ghor and further the Hindus

* S. V. Karandikar *Hindu Exogamy* (1909) pp 283-84 and 288

failed to adapt themselves to their new needs. The weakness of their military system against foreigners had been proved many times but no fruitful reform came out of their bitter experiences. Therefore emphasis is to be laid on the political disunion and defective military equipment of the Hindus in accounting for their failure against the Turkish invaders Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad of Ghor.*

SECTION XIII KASHMIR

The Utpalas (*Contd*) Sankaravarman Utpala was succeeded by his son Gopalavarman (902—904), during whose short reign, the Queen Mother, Sugandha, directed the government carried on love intrigues with the Brahman minister Prabhakaradeva, continued in power after the death of her son, and was killed in 914 in her conflict with the *Tantrins* (a military organisation) functioning as king makers till the subversion of the Utpala dynasty. Unmattavanti (937—939) was "worse than wicked" according to Kalhana and amused himself by cutting open the abdomens of pregnant women just to see the foetus. Yasasraradeva (939—948), the son of Gopalavarman's minister Prabhakaradeva, put an end to the dynasty of Avantivarman, and ascended the throne of Kashmir, but his son Sangramadeva (948—949), a minor, was killed by the chief minister, Parvagupta.

The Guptas Queen Didda Parvagupta (945—950) died soon after his usurpation and was followed by his son Kshemagupta (950—958) who became notorious for his disreputable pleasures and for his infatuation with Queen Didda (grand daughter of Bhima Shahi and daughter of Simharaja the chief of Lohara—the Punch State Kashmir) which led to his real name Didda Kshema. After his death came his son and grandsons but Didda

* P. C. Chakravarti *The Art of War in Ancient India* (1911), pp. 183-37.

was all in all from 958 to 1003, usurping the throne about 980 by killing the last of her grandsons. In spite of her unscrupulous ambition and open immorality—she is described as “a female elephant in rut”—she was an energetic ruler with a dominating personality and statesmanlike qualities. She curbed with a firm hand ministerial intransigence and aristocratic and laudatory insubordination. She established the Lohara dynasty with the support of her able and vigorous minister Tunga, a buffalo-driver by origin, who had been raised to high office by her, and after her death, her brother's son Sangramaraja ascended the throne peacefully and became the first member of the Lohara dynasty. She was further responsible for the erection of Vishnu temples and *mathas* and the foundation of cities like Diddapura, in a fit of pique after the death of her son. Though she debased the moral currency of Kashmir to an unspeakable extent her vigorous administration was eminently successful and a dynastic change was brought about without a bloody revolution.

The Loharas Sangramaraja (1003—1025) the grandson of Samharaja of Lohara succeeded Queen Didda. The minister Tunga continued in office but disgraced himself by the failure of his expedition to aid Trilochanapala Shahi against Mahmud of Ghazni in 1013 with the result that he was unseated and killed by court intrigues shortly after his return from that expedition. In 1015 and 1021 Mahmud made two fruitless attempts to seize the valley of Kashmir. During the reign of Anantadeva (1025—1063)

and brought the numerous independent states of Kashmir under control, but his last years were embittered by the unsuccessful plot of his son Haisha to dethrone him and his evil ways and his pursuit of sensual gratification reduced him to the level of a beast

The Nero of Kashmir Haisha (1089—1101) exhibited boldness and energy in securing the throne, to which his younger brother had succeeded. He was not only a great soldier but also a linguist, a poet, a musician and a patron of learning. He loved pomp and display, and was particular with regard to his personal appearance. He was a leader of fashion. His gold and silver coins of the elephant type are the only coins of the Lohara dynasty extant and constitute "the one break in this monotonous (and much debased) Kashmir series".* He continued most of his father's officers. He was accessible to the meanest of his subjects. But plots against his life by his own kith and kin converted him into a tyrant "the Nero of Kashmir". His faulty generosity landed him in financial difficulties and led to his spoliation of temples, including the metal images and to an oppressive fiscal system. His morality collapsed and the honour even of his foster mothers and sisters was not spared. His authority was weakened by the revolts of the rural landed aristocracy and treason at court. But the historian Kalhana's father, Champaka who was a minister of the king remained faithful to his master. Harsha abandoned his throne, fled and was murdered. "Thus miserably died a prince who in his dazzling qualities and monstrous vices as well as in his heterodoxy and traces of incipient insanity probably finds a parallel in Muhammad Tughluk"† Kalhana brings out the contrasts in his character and describes him as "attractive on all sides and yet repulsive". This accurate picture of his father's patron establishes the impartiality of Kalhana as a

* Brown *op cit.*, p 65

† Ray *op cit* I p 156

historian After the death of Harsha, the history of Kashmir is the history of "civil war famine corruption and treachery" It was during Jayasimha's reign (1128—1155) that Kalhana wrote his *Rajatarangini* but he was no protege of that king

Decline of Kashmir From 1150 Kashmir steadily declined The Lohara dynasty came to an end in 1171 The line of the next elected ruler Vuppadeva lasted till 1286 The rule of Hindu sovereigns continued till 1339 when the last queen Kotadevi was deposed and thus was established the dynasty of Shah Mir a Muslim adventurer who had been a servant of the state during the past twenty five years

Character of Kashmir History Despite its comparative political isolation Kashmir played an important part in the imperial politics of Northern India in the eighth century Its administration was frequently characterised by over taxation and oppression corruption and insubordination of ministers, and dominance of queens The turbulence of the over mighty aristocracy agricultural and military and the shameless debauchery of kings and queens became notorious The people were tame and submissive an inert mass. But they were practically free from foreign invasion Misrule was now and then tempered by administrative ability and statesmanship of a high order The Kashmirian variety of Saivism developed on rational lines In the field of Sanskrit Literature and Art a conspicuous position was attained some of the rulers were great patrons of learning and architecture and the Kashmirian Pandit became truly famous Kashmir not only contributed substantially to Indian culture but played a prominent part in spreading it in Central Asia and China

SECTION XIV NEPAL AND ASSAM

Nepal Raghuvaradeva was the emancipator of Nepal from Tibetan control One of his successors Gunakarna

founded Kantipura or Katmandu, and his reign (tenth century) was eminently conducive to commercial and industrial progress. In the eleventh century there was close contact, religious and cultural, between Nepal and Bengal and Bihar under the Palas, and some of the teachers at Vikramasila were Nepalese like Vairochana Pandit, Ratnakirti and Kanakasri, and Indian scholars like Vagisvarakirti visited Nepal. The dynasty of Raghavadeva was overthrown about 1046 by Bhaskaradeva, who founded the line of the Thakuris of Nayakot (near Katmandu) and assumed titles like *Maharajadhiraja*, *Paramesvara* and *Paramabhattaraka*. After Sankaradeva there was a period of usurpation by the Thakuris of Patan (near Katmandu), descended from Amsuvarman, for twenty years towards the close of the eleventh century. Sivadeva continued the line of Bhaskaradeva which lasted to the end of the twelfth century. In the first half of that century a Karnata dynasty, like the Sena dynasty in Bengal was established in Tirhut (Northern Bihar) by Nanyadeva claiming suzerainty over Nepal. The Mahayanism of Nepal became mixed up with Saivism.

Assam. The Pralambha dynasty continued for a century after Vanamala (c 875—900), who was followed by Jayamala Balavarman and Tyagasimha (c 900—1000). During the period 800—1000 the Palas of Bengal and Bihar seem to have exercised political power over Assam. In the eleventh century the Palas of Assam superseded the previous dynasty. Ratnapala the most important king ruled in the first half of that century from his capital near Gauhati. He is said to have come into conflict with the Palas of Bengal and Bihar and with the Karnata and Tamil invaders of Bengal. He prohibited meat diet at his capital and professed devotion to Siva and Vishnu. In the first half of the twelfth century Assam was conquered by Ramapala of Bengal and ruled over by his minister, *Bodhidewa* and his successors. Kumarapala the successor of Ramapala lost Assam. The

dynasty of Bhaskara (c 1150—1206) came into conflict with the Senas of Bengal under Vijayasena and Lakshmanasena and with Muhammad bin Bakhtyar when he attempted to invade Tibet through Assam in 1205. It was Vallabhadeva who seems to have contributed to the tragic retreat of the Muslim army from Assam.

SECTION XV THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINGANAGARA (Contd.)

Anantavarman Chodaganga. Our definite knowledge of Eastern Ganga history begins with Vajrahasta V (1038—1068), who seems to have become independent of the Cholas after the death of Rajendra I Chola. He ruled over the territory corresponding to the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts. His son, Rajaraja I Ganga, reigned from 1068 to 1078, married Rajasundari the daughter of Kulottunga Chola I, and was succeeded by his son Anantavarman Chodaganga (1078—1148) by that Chulukya Chola princess. Anantavarman was the greatest of the Eastern Gangas, and his rule lasted for the exceptionally long period of over seventy years. He is said to have raided the country from the Ganges to the Godavari. More than one hundred inscriptions testify to his extensive activity. He clashed with the Senas the Kalachuris (local branch) and the Cholas. Though Kulottunga Chola I's triumph over him about 1110 must have circumscribed his authority, his position was strengthened after that Chola's death in 1120. He married at least eight ladies and patronised Sanskrit and Telugu. In 1099 a work on astronomy, *Bhasati*, was written by Satyananda of Puri. In the same place the Jagannatha temple was built by Anantavarman. He issued coins with a recumbent bull, couch and crescent. During the reign of one of his successors occurred the first abortive Muslim invasion of Orissa in 1205. The Eastern Ganga dynasty was over-

thrown by the Muslims in the first quarter of the fifteenth century *

SECTION XVI THE RASHTRAKUTAS OF MALKHED (Contd.)

Indra III Indra III (912—917), the grandson of Krishna II, is thought by some to have defeated Upendra Paramara as a preliminary to his invasion of the empire of the Gurjara Pratiharas and his capture of Kanauj in 916. But his death in the following year minimised the importance of his grand victory over Mahipala I Pratihara. After Amoghavarsha II (917—918) came Govinda IV (918—935), whose love of ease and pleasure led to the abandonment of the forward policy of his great predecessor in Northern India. He failed against Bhima II of Vengi and won notoriety by his "vicious life and lascivious ways", with the result that his feudatories became rebellious. Amoghavarsha III (935—939) who was of a religious turn of mind appears to have handed over the administration to his energetic son Krishna III, who helped his sister Revala's husband Butuga II Western Ganga to recover the throne of Talakad. The next achievement of the heir apparent was the defeat of the Kalachuris of Tripuri and the capture of Kalinjar though his mother and his queen belonged to that royal family.

Krishna III During his reign (939—968) Krishna III inflicted a decisive defeat on the Cholas after a severe struggle in 949 at Takkolam (near Arlonam North Arcot District), in which the Chola crown prince Rajaditya lost his life. Krishna received the hearty co-operation of his brother-in-law Butuga II in his campaigns against the Cholas and rewarded him with the cession of Binavasi and other territories. His annexation of Tondaimandalam (the region between the North and South Pennar

rivers) is vouched for by his numerous inscriptions in the South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput Districts which describe him as the captor of Kanchi and Tanjore. He seems to have defeated Siyaka II Paramara, but failed to check the growth of the Paramara power. He succeeded in putting his own candidate on the throne of Vengi. Thus he was supreme in Peninsular India, and from this point of view, he out-distanced even Govinda III. His comparative failure in Northern India was due to the hostility of the Kalachuris after his attack on them during his father's reign, and to the rise of the Chandellas under Yasovarman I and Dhanga. His doings in trans Vindhyan India fell far short of the achievements of Govinda III, who dominated Northern and Southern India, still his ability and generalship made him a remarkable figure, the last great member of the Rashtrakuta dynasty. He patronised the Kannada poet, Ponna upon whom was conferred the title of *Ubhaya-larichakratarti*, as he was proficient in Sanskrit and Kannada. Another Kannada poet, Pampa, who composed his *Bharata* in 941, was the protege of Krishna's feudatory. Pampa and Ponna are two of the three gems of Kannada Literature, the third being Ranna.

Fall of the Dynasty Krishna III was succeeded by his younger brother Khottiga (968—972), and Sivaka II Paramara sacked Malkhed in 972. Karka II (972—973), the nephew of Khottiga was expelled from the throne in 973 by Taila II, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty of Kalyani. his worthlessness was aggravated by evil advisers. The Rashtrakuta power fell suddenly from the great height it had attained on the eve of Krishna III's death in 968.

Greatness of the Rashtrakutas Of the fourteen kings of the Rashtrakuta dynasty, Dantidurga, Krishna I, Dhruva, Govinda III, Indra III and Krishna III constitute a series of successful rulers we do not come across in any other dynastic history. Amoghavarsha I was great

in some respects; there were only three worthless kings. Sulaiman regarded the Rashtrakutas as "the most feared and powerful rulers of India"; in spite of frequent succession disputes, the empire remained intact and in an efficient condition. Active commerce was promoted by their friendship with the Arab merchants. The growing strength of Hinduism (Saivism and Vaishnavism) did not affect the progress of Jainism, which was in a flourishing state owing to its patronage by the Rashtrakutas and their great officers; it is estimated that the Jains formed one-third of the population of the Dakhan. The decline of Buddhism was not hastened by the state, which left it in peace, and there were three prosperous Buddhist settlements at Kanheri (near Bombay) and in the Sholapur and Dharwar Districts. The harmony among the various sects existing in the Rashtrakuta dominions did not prevail in the Tamil country. An inscription of 945 at Salotgi (Bijapur District) gives details of a college with 27 boarding-houses and 60 acres of land, the income from which was intended for lighting purposes; the head of the college was paid the income from about 250 acres; there were not only endowments by the rich but also payments by all the villagers on occasions of marriage and other ceremonies. Literature was patronised by the Rashtrakutas, and Sanskrit and Kannada authors flourished, most of them being Jains. But Marathi Literature was not important under the Rashtrakutas, whose language Kannada was developed by the Jains who were not conspicuous in the Maratha country. The progress of art was not great, the only products of the age being found at Ellora and Elephanta. Still, "in no other period of Ancient Indian History did the Deccan enjoy the same high political prestige, which it did under the Rashtrakutas... Very few Hindu dynasties have ruled in their full glory for so long a period (more than two centuries)."

SECTION XVII THE WESTERN CHALUKYAS OF KALYANI

Taila II. We are not sure of the relationship, if any, of Taila II (973—997), the restorer of the Chalukya power in the Dakhan with Kirtivarman II, the last of the Chalukyas of Badami. His overthrow of Karka II Rashtrakuta in 973 was effected with the help of some Rashtrakuta feudatories, and perhaps of the Kalachuris of Tripuri as his mother belonged to that family, which had been attacked by Kishna III Rashtrakuta. He overcame the opposition of the other feudatories of the Rashtrakutas and of the Gangas of Talakad. He made Kalyani (the Nizam's State) his capital and married the daughter of Karka II. In spite of his splendid achievement, he is said to have been defeated six times by Munja Paramara, who however came to grief in his seventh encounter with his veteran adversary in 995. He and his successor patronised the Kannada poet Ranna.

Somesvara I. The reigns of Satyasraya (997—1008) and Vikramaditya V (1009—1014) witnessed the ascendancy of Rajaraja I Chola, who conquered Gangavadi and Nolambavadi (Southern and Northern Mysore) before 1000, and about 1008 defeated the Chalukyas, whose territory was ravaged so mercilessly that women, children and Brahmans were massacred and girls raped. Jayasimha II (Jagadekamalla I), who reigned from 1015 to 1042, was defeated by Rajendra I Chola at Musangi (Maski, the Nizam's State) about 1021. Somesvara I Ahavamalla (great in war) ruled from 1042 to 1068 and carried on bitter warfare with the Cholas from the commencement of his reign. He fought with them in 1052 at Koppam (on the Krishna, near Kolhapur), and though Rajadhiraja I died the Cholas won and erected a pillar of victory at Kolhapur. He joined the league against Bhoja I Paramara and contributed to his overthrow in 1055, and later defeated Lakshmi Karna of Tripuri. In 1062 he was vanquished again by the Cholas at Kudal-

Sangamam (the confluence of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra) He improved the capital Kalyani He was a staunch Saiva who is said to have committed suicide by drowning himself in the Tungabhadra in consequence of his sufferings from a fever which his physicians could not cure

Vikramaditya VI Somesvara II (1068—1076), the son of Somesvara I, claims to have repulsed the Chola invasion soon after his accession to the throne but the inscriptions of the Cholas mention their victory and their destruction of the Chalukya city of Kampili He was a pious Saiva and during his reign Saivism made rapid progress He was deposed by his brother Vikramaditya VI (1076—1127), the most distinguished of his dynasty, who inaugurated his reign by abolishing the Saka era and founding the Chalukya Vikrama era commencing from his accession to the throne He is also known as Vikramanila and Tribhuvanamalla He put down the rebellion of his younger brother He clashed with the Cholas early in his reign His Hoysala feudatories captured Talikad about 1117 from the Cholas and became an important power though nominally dependent on their overlord About 1118 he established his authority over the Vengi province and maintained it intact down to his death, and this was his greatest success over Kulottunga I Chola with whom he had been always on terms of hostility He governed his extensive empire well Probably a Jain originally he became an ardent Saiva in later life He patronised Bilhana whose *Vikramankacharita* is a defectively historical eulogy of his patron Vijnanesvara the jurist and commentator who lived at Kalyani, says "There has not been there is not and there will not be on the surface of the earth a city like Kalyani and never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramanka seen or heard of" Inscriptions mention the six queens of the emperor His son Somesvara III (1127—1136) wrote a famous work in Sanskrit called *Alhilashikarthachintamani*

or *Manasollasa*, which deals with the acquisition of political power, its retention and its enjoyment, and with intellectual pleasures and amusements of various kinds, and which exhibits his knowledge of polity, administration of justice, medicine elephants, alchemy astrology, arms and rhetoric." Under his sons Jagadekamalla II (1136—1151), Taila III (1151—1163) and Jagadekamalla III (1163—1184), the Chalukya power declined.

Virasaivism.—The minister Bijjala, claiming to be related to the Kalachuris, usurped the throne about 1156, Taila III ruling over a part of the kingdom till 1163. In 1167 Bijjala abdicated and his successors ruled till 1183. During this period of Kalachuri usurpation, Virasaivism flourished, its followers being called Virasaivas or *Langayats* who "worship Siva in his phallic form, reject the authority of the Vedas, disbelieve in the doctrine of re-birth, object to child marriage, approve of the re-marriage of widows, and cherish an intense aversion to Brahmans, notwithstanding the fact that the founder of their religion (Basava, the minister of Bijjala) was himself a Brahman."* This religious movement became popular at the expense of Jainism and Buddhism in the Kannada country and contributed to the enrichment of Kannada Literature †

End of the Dynasty. Somesvara IV (1184—1200) re-established his dynastic power by the overthrow of the last Kalachuri, but his reign witnessed the independence of the Yadavas and the Hoysalas who extended their kingdoms from the northern and southern parts of the Chalukya Empire, which thus came to an end after lasting for about two centuries and a quarter. The coins of the dynasty conform to the Kadamba type (cup-shaped), with

* Smith, *The Early History of India*, p. 450

† E. P. Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature* (1921) Chapters IV and V

the substitution of a lion or a temple for the lotus and with Kannada legends

SECTION XVIII THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI

Bhullama The Yadavas of Devagiri claiming descent from the epic hero Krishna are also called Sevunas because they ruled over the Sevuna or Seuna country—the region from Nasik to Devagiri. Bhullama (1187—1191) who had been a feudatory of Somesvara IV, took advantage of the decline of the Chalukyas of Kalvan and seized the territory as far as the Krishna founded Devagiri (Daulatabad the Nizam's State) and made it his capital in 1187. His further territorial ambition was checked by Ballala II Hoysala, who defeated him near Gadag (Dharwar District Bombay) in 1191 captured Laldundi (Dharwar District) which had been ably defended by Jaitrapala Yadava and pursued his enemy to the banks of the Krishna. Bhullama lost his life in this campaign.

Jaitugi Bhullama's son and successor Jaitrapala or Jaitugi (1191—1210) conquered the Kalachuris of Tripuri about 1196 and Mahadeva Kakatiya in 1199. He is said to have released Ganapati Kakatiya from prison and enthroned him at Warangal (the Nizam's State), the capital of the Kakatiyas. He was proficient in the *Vedas* and the *Tarila* and *Mimamsa Sastras* and his Pandit-in-Chief was Lakshmidhara the son of the mathematician and astronomer Bhasarascharya. The Yadava dynasty conquered the Kolhapur kingdom of Bhoja Silahara (c 1175—1210) became very powerful in the thirteenth century and came to an end in the following century, and its history will be continued in Volume II.

SECTION XIX THE EASTERN CHALUKYAS OF VENGI (Contd)

Civil War After the death of Bhima I his son Vijayaditya IV ruled for six months and was succeeded

by the latter's son Amma I (918—925), whose death was followed by civil war and Rashtrakuta interference. Bhima II (934—945), the brother of Amma I, defeated the army of Govinda IV Rashtrakuta and occupied the throne. Krishna III Rashtrakuta deprived Amma II (945—970) of Vengi, forced him to retire to Kalinga and put his own nominee Badapa on the Eastern Chalukya throne about 956. Danarnava (970—973), the brother and successor of Amma II, was ejected by the Vengi ruler, Badapa descended from Yuddhamalla I, the fourth son of Vishnuvardhana V. Badapa and his successors Tara II and Yuddhamalla II, held Vengi from 956 to 999.

Chola Interference. Yuddhamalla III was probably overthrown by Rajaraja I Chola, who established his authority at Vengi in 999 and revived the elder branch of the Eastern Chalukyas put an end to by the junior branch represented by Badapa. Saktivarman I (999—1011) thus restored his line with Chola support. He was succeeded by Vimaladitya (1011—1018) who married Kundava, the daughter of Rajaraja I Chola, the result of this union being Rajaraja I (Eastern Chalukya). Rajaraja I (1018—1060) was deprived of a part of his kingdom by his half brother Vijayaditya VII about 1030. Saktivarman I and Rajaraja I issued flat gold coins with the figure of the loar. Nannayabhatta, the first of the Telugu *Kavitraya* and translator of a part of the *Mahabharata* into Telugu (the translation being an improvement on the Sanskrit original in several ways) as well as his contemporary Narayanabhatta, was patronised by Rajaraja I. He married Ammangadevi, the daughter of Rajendra I Chola, and by her had a son Rajendra (Kulottunga I Chola) who united the Eastern Chalukya and Chola dynasties. After the death of Rajaraja I the Vengi throne was seized by Vijayaditya VII who abdicated in favour of his son Saktivarman II (1061—1062) after whose premature death his father occupied the throne again (1062—1076). Kulottunga I Chalukya-

Chola who came to the Chola throne in 1070 put an end to his uncle Vijayaditya VII's rule at Vengi in 1076, or probably sent his own son as Viceroy of Vengi after his own uncle's death

Administration and Culture. The Eastern Chalukyas ruled for more than 500 years. A feature of their administrative system is the confiscation of the whole cargo of ships thrown on the shore by storms, and this practice was given up by Ganapati Kakatiya as announced in his Motupalli (Guntur District) Pillar *abhayasasana* (edict guaranteeing protection) of 1244-5. Besides the Vedic religion, Saivism and Vaishnavism, Jainism flourished in the Vengi country and was patronised by the kings, one of whom, Vimaladitya, was a Jain. The existence of Buddhism in certain localities, especially Amaravati, is indicated by inscriptions. Rajaraja I patronised the Telugu translation of the *Mahabharata*. The inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukyas show that they encouraged Sanskrit from the beginning, and Telugu from the time of Yuddhamalla III—tenth century. Mallanna lived in the second half of the eleventh century and rendered into Telugu verse an important mathematical work in Sanskrit by the Jain author Mahaviracharya. The grant of Vira Choda, the son of Kulottunga I, makes provision for a Vedic College.

SECTION XX. THE KAKATIYAS OF WARANGAL

Prola II Beta, the first historical member of the Kakatiya dynasty, was feudatory to Vikramaditya VI of Kalyani. Prola II took advantage of the decline of the Western Chalukyas and the disorder in the Vengi province after the death of Kulottunga I, and carved out a principality between the Krishna and the Godavari with its capital at Anumakonda. He is said to have defeated, captured and liberated Taila III of Kalyani about 1155. He improved agriculture by a scheme of tank excavation.

Prataparudra I Prataparudra I (1162—1185) founded Warangal (the Nizam's State) and made it his capital. He was a successful general who extended his kingdom. He patronised learning and built and endowed temples, and his administration was beneficent. He composed a *Nitisara* in Sanskrit and Telugu. His Virasaiva convictions led to his patronage of Somanatha, who wrote much on Virasaivism and was proficient in Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannada. Nannechodu (about 1150), a Telugu Choda chief of Kalahasti produced the *Kumarasambhata*, the first contribution of a naturalised Southerner to Telugu Literature. * Prataparudra's brother and successor, Mahadeva (1185—1199), was vanquished by Jaytrapala of Devagiri. The glory of the Kakatiyas under Ganapati and Queen Rudramba belongs to the thirteenth century.

SECTION XXI THE WESTERN GANGAS OF TALAKAD (Contd.)

Rajamalla IV Nitimarga II (907—935) was followed by Rajamalla III who was ousted by Krishna III Rashtrakuta in favour of Butuga II in 934. We have seen the relations between Butuga II (937—960) and Krishna III as crown prince and the former's co-operation with the latter at the battle of Takkolam in which the Chola prince Rajaditya died (949). Butuga was proficient in Jain philosophy, and is said to have triumphed over a Buddhist in doctrinal disputation. Marasimha III (960—974) was true to the Rashtrakuta alliance co-operated with Krishna III failed to restore Indra IV (his sister's son and grandson of Krishna III) to the Rashtrakuta throne in opposition to Taila II of Kalyani and committed *sallekhana* (suicide by starvation) in the Jain fashion. He was succeeded by Rajamalla IV (974—985) whose minister was Chamunda Pava a famous Jain and a great

* P. Chenchiah and M. Bhujanga Rao *A History of Telugu Literature* (1928) p. 23

general with the title of *Viramarlanda* who put down a rebellion to oust his master, wrote in 978 the *Chamunda Raya Purana* in Kannada—an account of the 24 Jain Tirthankaras—, erected at Sravana Belgola (Mysore) a *basti* (Jain temple), named after himself about 982 and a statue of Gomatesvara about 983, “larger than any of the statues of Rameses in Egypt” which “in daring conception and gigantic dimensions (56½ feet in height) is without a rival in India” and thus truly earned the title of Rava

Chola Conquest After Rajamalla IV came his younger brother Rakkasa Gangai (985—1024) in 1004 Talakad was captured by the Cholas and his power came to an end though his inscription of 1024 mentions Rajendra I Chola as his overlord. Ganga princes however continued to exist. Ganga Raja was the minister of Vishnuvardhana Hoysala in the twelfth century, and Ganga Raja of Sivasamudram defied Krishnadeva Rava of Vijayanagar early in the sixteenth century. All the Gangas from the seventh century were unwaveringly devoted to Jainism and gave their substantial patronage to it. In the tenth century lived the great Kannada men of letters Pampa the author of the *Pampa Bharata*, Ponna and Ranna, “the greatest of the Kannada poets”

SECTION XXII. THE HOYSALAS OF DVARASAMUDRA

Vishnuvardhana The traditional founder of the Hoysala dynasty was Sala, and the first historical person Vinayaditya I (1006—1022) was followed by Nripakama (1022—1047). Vinayaditya II (1047—1100) was a feudatory of the Chalukyas of Kalyani. These chiefs belonged to Sasikapura (Sosevur Kadur District Mysore) and became influential during the wars between the Cholas and the Chalukyas in Mysore. Ballala I (1100—1106) changed his capital to Belur (Hassan District Mysore) and beat off an attack on Dvarasamudra (Halebid near

Belur) He was followed by his brother Bittideva (Vishnuvardhana after his conversion to Vaishnavism by Ramanuja), the founder of the Hoysala power (c 1111—1141) whose date of accession is not definitely known. With the help of his general Ganga Raja he seized Cangavadi from the Cholas about 1117 and assumed the title of *Talakadugonda* (captor of Talakad). He made an incomplete conquest of Nolambavadi and is said to have invaded the Tamil country and reached Rameswaram. Some of his gold coins contain the legend *Sr. Talakadugonda* in Kannada and the Hoysala crest is a maned lion. By 1137 he had become master of the whole of the Mysore State with his capital at Dvarasamudra. In spite of his practically independent position he nominally continued as a feudatory of the Western Chalukyas. Though he became a Vaishnava, his attitude towards his original faith Jainism was benevolent. Saivism also was patronised by him. His general Ganga Raja, a Jain favoured his religion. The origin of many temples is assigned to his reign including those at Belur.

Narasimha I and Ballala II Under Vishnuvardhana's son Narasimha I (1141—1173) a boy of eight at his accession Banavasi and Nolambavadi were administered by Chalukya Viceroys though his father's possession of them had been recognised by his overlord. But after the usurpation of Bijjala Bokana the general of Narasimha triumphed over the usurper and Hoysala influence was exercised over those two provinces. The king, a young man lived the life of a sensualist. Ballala II (1173—1220) won his greatest victory over Bhallama of Devagiri in 1191 and extended his dominions up to the Krishna. As by this time Somesvara IV of Kalyani had practically ceased to function as overlord and as the Yadavas of Devagiri had become independent Ballala II assumed imperial titles in 1191/2 and founded an era commencing from that date. Thus the Hoysalas emerged

as an independent and important power in the twelfth century and played a conspicuous part in South Indian history till the foundation of Vijayanagar in the fourteenth century

Kannada Literature Nagachandra or Abhinava Panpa, distinct from Adi Panpa patronised by Vishnu vardhana gives the Jain version of the epic story in his *Ramayana* called after him *Kanti* the nun was a poetess Rajaditya versified the rules of Mathematics Naysena (1112) the moralist protested against the unnecessary use of Sanskrit terms characteristic of his contemporaries All these authors were Jains Harisvara and Raghavanka were Virasaiva authors of the *Girijalyana* and *Harischandralaya* respectively (1165) Nembehandra, a Jain, wrote the first Kannada novel *Lalata* (1170), in imitation of Subandhu's *Vasavadatta*

SECTION XXIII THE CHOLAS OF TANJORE VIJAYALAYA TO RAJARAJA I

The Cholas of Uraiyur The vicissitudes of the Cholas of the Sangam Age are unknown during the period of Kalabhras usurpation and of Pallava ascendancy, except for stray references in literature and inscriptions Their existence throughout those six centuries vouches for the continuance of their family, though their dynastic power had disappeared They were reduced to the position of petty chiefs in the Uraiyur region though a branch in the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts became sufficiently important to attract the attention of Huen Tsang in the seventh century—the Renandu Cholas The epigraphical notices of the conquest of the Cholas by the Pallavas the Pandyas and the Chalukyas of Badami are to be taken as references to the Chola country Besides marrying their princesses to the members of the dominant dynasties and taking part in the wars of the period as subordinates and allies of the imperial dynasts they promoted in some

measure the fortunes of the growing orthodox sects, Saivism and Vaishnavism

The Cholas of Tanjore Vijayalaya and Aditya I. The conquest of Tanjore by Vijayalaya (c 850—c 871), a chieftain in the vicinity of Uraiyur from the Muttaraiyars (remnants of the Kalabhras) then feudatory to the Pandyas provoked a Pandya Pallava conflict ending about 880 in the battle of Sripurambivam (near Kumbhakonam) in which Aditya I (871—907) the son and successor of Vijayalaya fought on the victorious side and obtained from Aparajita Pallava additions to his territory near Tanjore. About 893 Aditya the overmighty feudatory, defeated his overlord and seized the Kanchi region. He seems to have conquered the Coimbatore and Salem Districts as well from the Pandyas perhaps with the aid of the Chera king Sthanu Ravi with whom he was on terms of intimacy. Thus he became master of the territory from Kalahasti to Pudukkottai and Coimbatore and reaped the fruit of the battle of Sripurambivam which witnessed the expiry of the Pandya imperial power and the spasmodic energy of the moribund Pallava authority. Like his father Vijayalaya who built a temple for Durga at Tanjore after its conquest by him Aditya a staunch Saiva honoured Siva in the same way.

Parantaka I Parantaka (907—953) the son of Aditya I gave attention to the Pandya country from the beginning of his reign. His raid on Madura led to his assumption of the title of "Madurai-konda" in his third regnal year. About 915 a battle was fought at Vellur and the Pandyas and the Sinhalese were beaten. A third campaign effected the expulsion of Rajasimha II Pandya about 920 and three years later Parantaka described himself as Maduraiyum Ilumukonda (captor of Madura and Ceylon) but failed subsequently to get from the Sinhalese ruler the insignia of Pandya royalty left with him by Rajasimha. Further he obliterated

ated the remains of Pallava power and conquered the country as far north as Nellore. The Western Ganga Prithivipati II was subordinate to him. Thus his empire extended from the North Pennar to Cape Comorin. But the last decade of his reign witnessed the invasion of the Kanchi region by Krishna III Rashtrakuta with the aid of Butuga II Western Ganga. The Chola failure at Takkolam in 949 resulted not only in the death of the crown prince but also in the ruin of the nascent imperialism of Parantaka I. One curious result of Rajaditya's death was that his *guru* Chaturinani Pandita, a noble and scholar of Kerala, became an ascetic on the ground that life had become stale and unprofitable to him after his disciple's decease. Though Parantaka's reign ended in a tragedy, nothing could wipe away the glory of the elaborate system of village administration by the *sabha* and its committees described in his Uttaramerur (Chingleput District) inscriptions of 919 and 921. Like his father, he was active in building temples. He provided the Natiraja shrine at Chidambaram with a gold roof.

Interval between Parantaka I and Rajaraja I. The interval between the death of Parantaka I in 953 and the accession of Rajaraja I in 985 is a confused period. The Chola genealogy and chronology during that interval are largely uncertain and its history is not sufficiently clear. Parantaka was succeeded by his second son Gandaraditya. Rajaditya, his eldest son, having perished at Takkolam. Gandaraditya's queen Sembiyan Mahadevi was of a pious and charitable disposition, esteemed by all the members of the royal family, including Rajaraja I. Parantaka II (Sundara Chola) was the son of Arinjaya, the son of Parantaka I by a Kerala princess. During his reign (956—973) the Kanchi region was recovered from the Rashtrakutas, though the campaigns against the Pandya were indecisive. His son Aditya II was murdered about 969, probably at the instance of Uttama.

Chola, the son of Gandaraditya and Sembiyan Mahadevi—a bad son of excellent parents like Sambaji, the son of Sivaji and Sai Bai Parantaka II was followed by Uttama Chola (973—985), whose gold coin is the earliest known Chola piece

Rajaraja the Great Conquests Rajaraja I (985—1014) was the son of Parantaka II and Vanavan Mahadevi, and brother of Aditya II His first great achievement was the destruction of the Chera navy at Kandalur Salai (Kandalur=a part of Trivandrum, Travancore, Salai=roadstead) The expression “Kandalur salai-lalamaruttaruli” has been interpreted by some scholars in the sense of “pleased to break the plates in the feeding house at Kandalur,” or “pleased to discontinue the feeding at Kandalur,” but this rendering is generally rejected Rajaraja’s southern campaign was directed not only against Bhashara Ravivarman (978—1036) but also against the Pandyas and the Sinhalese He re-established Chola authority in the Pandya country and annexed Northern Ceylon, building there a stone temple for Siva. His expedition to Malaindu or Coorg is said to have been intended to check the power of the Pandyas and the Cheras The conquest of Gangavadi and other parts of Mysore must have been effected between 991 and 1004 The attack on Satvasrava of Kalvani was of a very destructive character, and resulted in the Tungabhadra becoming the boundary of the Chola Empire Rajaraja interfered in the affairs of the Chalukyas of Vengi, put an end to their dynastic quarrels, and gave his daughter Kundava in marriage to Vimaladitya His last achievement was the conquest of the Maldive Islands Thus his navy must have operated on three occasions, the destruction of the Chera fleet and the conquest of Ceylon and of the Maldive Islands

Administration. In 1012 Rajaraja made his son Rajendra heir apparent and the latter’s regnal years were

counted from that date. Hence the overlapping dates of Chola dynastic history given below, indicative of joint rule. Rajaraja assumed a number of titles the chief of them being *Mummadi Chola Jayasimha* and *Sriparadaschlara*. Though devoted to Saiva he patronised Vaishnavism and co-operated in the construction of a Buddhist monastery at Negapatam by a Sailendra emperor of Sumatra in 1006. The great Rajarajesvara temple at Tanjore "the most beautiful specimen of Tamil architecture at its best" was completed by him in 1010 four years before his death. 'The accurate survey and assessment of the country for purposes of land revenue (a great survey commenced in 1001), the perfection of the administrative organisation of the country by the creation of a strong and centralised machinery corresponding to the staff of secretaries in a modern administration, and the posting of representative officers of the central government in suitable localities, the promotion of a system of audit and control by which village assemblies and other quasi-public corporations were held to account without their initiative or autonomy being curtailed, the creation of a powerful standing army and a considerable navy which achieved even greater success under Rajendra than under himself mark out Rajaraja as the greatest among the empire builders of Southern India.' * He was not only a king of remarkable military and administrative ability but also a pious and tolerant man who patronised art and literature, and a lovable personality. His great and solid work was the rock upon which his son built and achieved unique success. He started the practice of prefixing 'historical introductions' to his inscriptions and was imitated by his successors. These official summaries of public events are of great value to the Chola historian.

SECTION XXIV THE CHOLAS OF GANGAI
KONDACHOLAPURAM RAJENDRA I
AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Rajendra I. Expedition to the Ganges Rajendra I (1012—1044) had taken a prominent part in the campaigns of his father, especially in the attack on Satyasraya of Kalyani. In 1018 he redeemed his father's failure by his own seizure of the Pandya crown and other royal belongings in the custody of the Sinhalese ruler, whose country was conquered and governed by Rajendra. In the same year he secured the crown of the Chera ruler as well. In 1018-9 he appointed his son as Viceroy of Madurai, and Kerala was subsequently added to his charge. Though Jayasimha II of Kalyani was defeated in 1021 at Musangi (Maski), he soon recovered the Raichur Doab, re-established his authority up to the Tungabhadra, and even penetrated into the Bellary region. The next military effort of Rajendra was the Chola expedition to Northern India which was led by him up to the Godavari and by his general beyond that river. In spite of difficulties in identifying the place and personal names mentioned in the inscriptions concerned and notwithstanding some overstatements and possible omissions the

establishment of Northern Indian Saivas in the Tamil country

The Kadaram Adventure The most famous venture of Rajendia was the naval expedition to Kadaram and Sri Bhoja or Sri Vijaya about 1025. Sri Vijaya was a kingdom in Sumatra some locate Kadaram in the same island, while others identify it with Keddah near Penang, on the West Coast of the Malay peninsula. It is difficult to guess the real object of the expedition as Sangrama Vijayottunga Varman conquered by Rajendra was the successor of the Sailendra Emperor Maru Vijayottunga Varman who had founded a Buddhist monastery at Negrapatam during the 21st regnal year (1006) of Rajaraja I. Rajaraja had granted a village to the Buddha of that monastery, and after his death, Rajendra had renewed the grant. Therefore it is not easy to say how, within a decade between Rajaraja's death in 1014 and Rajendra's expedition about 1025 the friendship between the two imperial powers had changed into enmity. Whatever may be the cause of the Chola naval move its effects could only have been temporary and there is no reason for thinking that the conquests in Sumatra and Malaya were administered by the Cholas.

Further Campaigns After the Kadaram expedition, Ceylon started a war of independence about 1029. There were rebellions in the Pandya and Kerala countries which were put down by Rajendra's son Rajadhiraja I. A Chola invasion of the Western Chalukya Empire under Somesvara I was undertaken in the last years of Rajendra and Rajadhiraja I is said to have sacked Kalvari and brought home the *darapalaka* (door keeper) image which now exists at Darasuram (Tanjore District). This invasion is said to have caused much injury and humiliation to the vanquished Chalukyas. Minor campaigns were carried on in some parts of Mysore, and it is stated that "cows were carried off and women's girdles were unloosed"

We have referred to other instances to show that the Cholas seriously offended against the ethics of warfare even in the days of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I.

Rajendra's Titles When Rajendra I died in 1044, 'the extent of the empire was at its widest and its military and naval prestige stood at its highest'.¹⁰ His most famous titles are *Mudironda*, *Gangai-konda*, *Kadaramonda* and *Pandita*. The first title signifies that he captured the crowns of the Pandya, Kerala and Ceylon kings. He built a new capital, named it *Gangai-kondacholapuram* (Udayarpalayam Taluk, Trichinopoly District), and near it excavated a large irrigation tank, called *Cholaganqam*, whose bed is now a jungle. His title of *Pandita Chola* is apparently justified by his provision for a Vedic College, recorded in an inscription from Ennavaram (South Arcot District), which is an important document for the study of educational organisation under the Cholas and the policy of Rajendra in this respect was continued by his successors. His three sons Rajadhiraja I, Rajendra II and Virarajendra I ascended the throne in succession after his death in 1044. His daughter Ammayadevi was the queen of Rajendra I of Vengi and mother of Kulottunga I Chalukya Chola. The titles *Parakesari* and *Rajakesari* were assumed alternately by Chola sovereigns from Vijayalaya and Rajendra I was a *Parakesari*, his father being a *Rajakesari*.

which went against Somesvara I though the Chola Emperor lost his life in it. In spite of the frequent defeats of the Chalukyas of Kalyani and the serious injury done to some parts of their dominions the Cholas failed to reduce them to vassalage or annex permanently any portion of their territory. Rajadhiraja was a continuously martial career for over thirty years. He is referred to in the records of his successors as "the king who died on the elephant back." He performed a horse sacrifice about 1044.

Rajendra II Rajadhiraja was succeeded by Rajendra II (1052—1064) who crowned himself on the battle-field of Koppam where he had distinguished himself by his bravery and is said to have marched to Kolhapur to erect a pillar of victory there. In 1062 Somesvara I was defeated at Kudal Sangamam (junction of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra) the object of the Chola invasion being to check the growth of his power after the battle of Koppam and prevent his interference in the Eastern Chalukya affairs.

Virarajendra I Rajendra II was followed by his younger brother Virarajendra I (1063—1070) who invaded the Western Chalukya Empire in 1067 in response to the alleged challenge of Somesvara I to meet him at Kudal Sangamam once more. But the latter did not turn up and the Chola army returned after erecting a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadra and offering insults to an effigy of Somesvara I but he was probably suffering from an illness which subsequently persuaded him to put an end to his own life. Chola inscriptions state that Virarajendra "saw the back of (defeated) Somesvara five times." The Chola Emperor proceeded to Vengi defeated the Western Chalukyas near Bezwada strengthened his hold on Vengi and returned to Gangaikondacholapuram the capital from the days of Rajendra I. He despatched an expedition to Ceylon and

crushed the rebellion there. He is said to have assisted in the recovery of Kadaram by its ruler about 1068. He came into conflict with Somesvara II and both sides claim the victory. It seems that Somesvara II and his brother, Vikramaditya VI quarrelled and on the latter's appeal to the Chola Emperor the former was forced to surrender a part of his dominions to his brother who is said to have married a Chola princess. Virarajendra assumed a number of titles like *Athamallalulala* (destroyer of the family of Athamallal) and *Vallibhavalalaha* indicative of his triumph over the Chalukyas of Kalyani. He performed many charities and presented God Nataraja at Chidambaram with a rubi. He built a palace and a throne at his capital.

Adhirajendra Virarajendra was succeeded by Adhirajendra who ruled from 1070 to 1075 with his father Virarajendra I and only for a few months as sole monarch. He is regarded as the *Arunantha* (discreet neck) Chola of Vaishnava tradition the persecutor of Ramanuja though some scholars would assign that notorious role to Virarajendra I or Kulottunga I. The collapse of Chola authority under Adhirajendra his unnatural death, and the accession of Kulottunga I resulted in the extinction of the Vijayalaya line of Cholas. Kulottunga's advent to the Chola throne cannot be satisfactorily accounted for with the conflicting evidences available.

his father in 1060 to his occupation of the Chola throne in 1070 is obscure. It is likely that he was on good terms with Virarajendra I and helped him in the re-establishment of his authority in the kingdom of Vengi in 1067 against the encroachment of the Western Chalukyas. It is probable that his accession to the Chola throne was regarded with satisfaction, seeing that the confusion of the previous reign had necessitated the rehabilitation of the integrity and strength of the empire. About 1073 Yasah Karna Kalachuri raided the Vengi country. About 1075 Ceylon became independent. Kulottunga came into conflict with Vikramaditya VI of Kalyani about 1076, with results differently stated by the Chola and Chalukya authorities. After the death or ejection of Vijayaditya VII Eastern Chalukya in 1076, Kulottunga appointed his son as Viceroy of Vengi. In 1088 peace was concluded with Ceylon and cemented with a marriage alliance. The Pandvas and the Cheras were reconquered, and military colonies were established in their countries for keeping them under control, but in matters of internal administration they were left to themselves. In 1090 an embassy came from Sumatra in connection with the Buddhist monastery at Negapatam.

Loss of Gangavadi and Vengi About 1117 Kulottunga lost Gangavadi to Vishnuvardhana Hoysala (1111—1141), who captured Talakad assumed the title of ' Talakadu gunda ' and is said to have invaded the Tamil country and raided it as far as Rameswaram. Some support is given to this claim by an inscription which refers to the failure of his attempt to carry away some images from Aduturai (Trichinopoly District). About 1118 the Vengi province came under the control of Vikramaditya VI of Kalyani whose policy, aiming at the separation of the Cholas and the Eastern Chalukyas and pursued from the beginning of his career was successful in the last decade of his reign. Thus Kulottunga lost Ceylon, Gangavadi and Vengi.

Kulottunga's Greatness Though his empire was reduced in extent Kulottunga gave a fresh lease of life to it and ' ensured for his subjects a century of peace and good government ' . Though Gangaikondachola puram continued to be the capital, Kanchi rose in importance. He assumed the title of *Sungandavartha* (who abolished tolls) Chola but the character of this fiscal reform is not known. He ordered a revenue survey in his sixteenth regnal year (1086) by a strange coincidence the date of the Domesday survey of England another survey was made in 1110.

Vikrama Chola. Kulottunga I had a large family, seven sons and two daughters by Madhurantaki alone. Chodaganga Mummadi Chola Vira Choda and Vikrama Chola, who had been Viceroys of Vengi under their father three other sons and Rajasundari (mother of Anantavarman Chodaganga) and Suryavalli (who married a Sinhalese prince). He was succeeded by Vikrama Chola (1118—1135), who became sole ruler in 1120. He seized the opportunity of the death of Vikramaditya VI of

* Nilakanta Sastri *op cit*, II (1937) p 2

Kalyani in 1127 to restore Chola power in the Vengi kingdom. He recovered a bit of Gangavadi. About 1125 North and South Arcot Districts suffered from floods and famine. The year 1128 is memorable for the king's donations to the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram which had been favoured by the Cholas from Parantaka I and which had become particularly important consequent on the shifting of the capital to Gangaikondacholapuram not far from Chidambaram. A record of 1130 says that the king was living in his palace at Chidambaram. His surnames *Tyagasamudra* and *Akalanka* indicate his charities and piety.

Kulottunga II Kulottunga II (1133—1150) became independent ruler after his father's death in 1135, continued his predecessor's benefactions to the Chidambaram temple, and exhibited religious intolerance by throwing the image of Govindaraja into the sea, though the antiquity of His shrine is proved by Manikavasagar's reference to it. He is regarded by some as the *Arumulantha* Chola of Vaishnava Literature. His reign is important in Tamil literary history, as he and his feudatories patronised Ottakkuttan, Selkilar and Kambar.

his policy and allied himself with Kulasekhara who in consequence attacked some Chola allies. The Chola policy also was reversed, and Vira Pandya was enthroned. This protracted warfare continued beyond the reign of Rajaraja II till about 1177. Thus a century after the accession of Kulottunga I the growth of feudatory puissance reached its culmination and revealed the central weakness of the Chola Empire. Rajadhiraja II (1163—1179), the successor of Rajaraja II and another grandson of Vikrama Chola brought the Pandya civil war to a close.

Kulottunga III Pandyas and Telugu Chodas. The relationship of Kulottunga III (1178—1216) to Rajadhiraja II is not known, though the latter chose him as his successor some time before his death. Though Vira Pandya gained the throne with the help of Rajadhiraja II, he coquetted with Ceylon and turned against the Cholas. Kulottunga probably about 1182 dethroned him and put Vikrama Pandya perhaps related to Kulasekhara Pandya on the throne. In 1189 Vira Pandya created trouble with the support of the Kerala king and was vanquished by Kulottunga who claims a victory over Ceylon as well, while the Sinhalese ruler Nissankamalla is said to have three invaded the Pandya country. Between 1190 and 1194, Kulottunga seems to have asserted his authority in the Kongu country. His relations with the Telugu Chodas (chieftains claiming descent from Karikala Chola), his feudatories, who occupied the territory between North Arcot and Nellore Districts, were generally good but about 1196 he recovered Kanchi from them after their possession of it for some time. About 1205 an expedition was sent against Jatavarman Kulasekhara, probably the son of Vikrama Pandya and the first of a series of great Pandyas who established an empire in the thirteenth century and though he was defeated he was reinstated but Kulottunga ravaged the Pandya country and destroyed the Coronation Hall at Madura. His expedition to the Telugu country about 1208 is said to

have been successful. But his reign seems to have ended with his defeat by the Pandyas under *Matavirman Sundara*, whose victory could not however be exploited owing to Hoysala intervention on behalf of the Cholas.

The Last Great Chola *Gingaikondacholapuram* remained the capital of the empire and Kulottunga gave much attention to the building and improvement of temples. Famine conditions prevailed in 1201 and 1202 and relief works were started by private agency, as recorded in an inscription at *Tiruvannamalai* (North Arcot District). Though Kulottunga maintained his empire and its administration intact till the Pandya invasion of the Chola country towards the close of his reign his difficulties bring into relief the dangers that threatened the imperial position. His personal qualities were responsible for the continuance of the empire under him, and he may be regarded as the last great Chola. The growth of feudatory power impaired the strength of the central authority and would work havoc under weak lines. The rise of Pandya imperialism in the thirteenth century ruined the Chola Empire during the reign of *Rajaraja III* (1216—1246) the incompetent successor of Kulottunga III. Under the next ruler *Rajendra III* (1246—1279) the Chola power was superseded by that of the Pandyas. The vicissitudes of the Chola fortunes after the death of Kulottunga III in 1216 belong to our next Volume.

SECTION XXVI ADMINISTRATION

Central Government The extent and resources of the Chola Empire increased the power and prestige of monarchy which loomed large in public esteem. The pomp of kingship was augmented not only by the great capitals, large courts and magnificent donations in lieu of the *astamedha* and other sacrifices of old but also by the giving of royal names to idols and the installation and worship of the images of kings and queens in temples. The system of hereditary succession to the throne was

slightly modified by the ruling king's occasional choice as heir apparent of the younger prince in preference to his seniors. The absolutism of divified monarchy was tempered by an organised administrative staff, the chief members of which in close contact with the king were consulted by him owing to the apparent absence of a regular ministerial council. Royal tours contributed to the efficiency of the administration. The officers were paid by land assignments.

Revenue System Public revenue was derived mainly from land and collected in kind, or in cash, or in both, by the village assemblies. The state's demand of land revenue seems to have been one-third of the gross produce in the time of Rajaraja I. This proportion was fixed after an elaborate land survey, and we have mentioned the surveys under Rajaraja I and Kulottunga I. There were periodical revisions of the classification of land and of the assessment of land revenue. The other items of public income were customs and tolls various kinds of profession tax, mines, forests salt pans, etc. The innumerable taxes, though uneconomical, were intended to supplement the land revenue with its fluctuations due to partial remissions in hard times. Unpaid labour was frequently employed. Though there is evidence of the sympathetic administration of the tax system—Kulottunga I became famous by abolishing tolls—some cases of oppression are on record. Further, the rise into power of the feudatories must have tended to increase the tax burdens of the people. Failure to pay the land revenue involved the sale of the land in question, not excluding temple lands. The chief items of public expenditure were the king and his court army and navy civil administrative staff, roads, and irrigation tanks and channels.

corporate organisation and even participating in civic life and making grants to temples. Attention was given to their training and discipline and cantonments existed. The terrible character of Chola warfare has been alluded to in connection with the invasions of the Western Chalukya and Pandya countries. Much injury was done to the civil population and women were dishonoured. Mutilations like nose slitting are on record. When we speak of the glories of temples and luxuries of kings and chieftains we cannot forget the sufferings inflicted on the neighbouring kingdoms and the enormous spoils of war. The naval achievement of the Tamils reached its climax under the Cholas. Not only were the Coromandel and Malabar Coasts controlled by them but the Bay of Bengal became a Chola lake for some decades. In the absence of extant nautical literature of the Tamils we can have no idea of the technique of their naval warfare and other related lines of advance.

Village Autonomy The empire of Rajaraja I was divided into about eight *mandalam*s or provinces, and the latter into *talnadu*s and *nadu*s. The next administrative sub-divisions were *lurrams* or *kottams* each consisting of a number of autonomous villages playing a conspicuous part in administration. We have seen that princes were in charge of the Vengi and Madurai provinces. We have also observed that the system of village autonomy with *sabhas* and their committees existed in an embryonic stage under the Pallavas and the Pandyas in the eighth and ninth centuries and that the Chola inscriptions of the tenth century reveal its full development. Though there was corporate activity in economic and religious life and in territorial divisions like *nadu*s and *nagaram*s (towns) the greatest and most comprehensive group activity was exhibited by village assemblies*. Of the two kinds of

* Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Evolution* V and VI Nilakanta Sastri *Studies* III V and VI

assemblies called the *ur* and *sabha* which were gatherings of the adult members of the local community, the first was of the general type, and the second was the assembly of the *agrahara* or Brahman settlement, and it is the latter type that looms large in Chola inscriptions. The author thinks that the germs of this type are found in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya.*

The Uttaramerur Inscriptions Two Uttaramerur (Chingleput District) epigraphs record the resolutions passed by its Mahasabha in the 12th and 14th regnal years (919 and 921) of Parantaka I, relating to the constitution of executive committees, the second resolution improving on and superseding the first. According to the regulations of 921, each of the thirty wards of the village was to nominate for selection persons possessing the following qualifications:—Ownership of more than one fourth *veli* (about an acre and a half) of land, residence in a house built on one's own site, aged above 35 and below 70 and knowledge of the Vedic *mantras* and the *Brahmanas*; in the alternative, one-eighth *veli* of land and one *Veda* and a *Bhashya*. Though possessing these qualifications the following were to be excluded: those who had been on any of the committees for the past three years, those who had been on the committee but had failed to submit the accounts and all their specified relations; those who had committed incest or other great sins and their relations; those who had stolen the property of others; those who had associated themselves with low caste people but had not performed expiatory ceremonies; even those who had purified themselves after eating forbidden dishes etc.

on the garden and tank committees were assigned to the *samiatsaravariyam* (annual committee), twelve to the *tottaiariyam* (garden committee) and six to the *crariyam* (tank committee). Two other committees were similarly selected—the *panchaitara* (?) committee and the *pon* (gold) committee consisting of six members each. The lot system worked on the following lines. Names of eligible persons nominated by the wards were written on palm leaf tickets which were put into a pot and shuffled, and a young boy was directed to take out as many tickets as there were members to be chosen. Inscriptions in other places than Uttaramerur mention additional committees for justice wards and fields the *udasina* committee etc. The term *udasina* has been interpreted as ascetics; it is better to take it as referring to strangers or foreigners. The number of committees and of members varied from village to village and no payment was made for their services. The committee members were called *Variyapperumakkal*, the Mahasabha *Perunguri* and its members *Perumakkal*. Ordinarily the Assembly met in the village temple and occasionally under a tree or on the bank of a tank. There are no references in inscriptions either to voting or to a quorum. General questions were discussed in the Assembly and resolutions were passed and recorded.

The Mahasabha Fiscal Functions A characteristic feature of the Chola administration is that the central government concerned itself with external defence the maintenance of internal peace and order and the promotion of the general prosperity and cultural advance of the empire. It left the village assemblies largely to themselves and interfered chiefly in cases of conflict between two assemblies. Union of villages was effected in one case without the intervention of the central government. The extent of village autonomy may be gauged from the functions of the assemblies. The Mahasabha possessed proprietary rights over communal lands and controlled the private lands within its jurisdiction.

It did everything preliminary to conveyance of property, which required the sanction of the central authority. It was concerned with the reclamation of forest and waste lands. It estimated the produce of cultivated land and assessed the land revenue to be paid for it. It collected that revenue, and in cases of failure to pay it had the power to sell the lands in question by public auction. Disputes about the land revenue were settled by it, but in special cases, assemblies from the neighbouring villages were requested to co-operate with it in reaching a decision. General surveys were undertaken by the central government, but the approval of the Mahasabha was necessary for any change in the classification of land within its sphere. It had powers of taxation for village purposes and of remission of such taxation in exceptional cases. Instead of paying land revenue every year a land owner might pay a fixed sum to the Assembly and compound all his future dues to the local and central authorities, the Assembly regularly paying all such dues in perpetuity. Such arrangements were made in the case of lands set apart for charitable purposes.

Judicial. The committees looked after the village administration with the assistance of paid village officials who detected crime and the judicial committee (*nyayattar*) of the Assembly settled disputes and pronounced on the innocence or guilt of the accused though punishment was awarded by royal officers or a special body of judges. The establishment of the guilt by a popular committee is the basis of the remark that the jury system prevailed under the Cholas. Inscriptions reveal that various forms of homicide were distinguished and capital punishment was not inflicted in all cases of man-slaughter. In a case of death caused without malice the guilty man was fined sixteen cows and a perpetual lamp was ordered to be lighted in the village temple for the accrual of religious merit to the deceased. Accidental death was differentiated from culpable homicide amounting to

murder and the latter from murder. Even in some cases of murder the extreme penalty of the law was not meted out. The Chola administration of justice could not be charged with severity or vindictiveness. It may rather be regarded as swayed by over-mercifulness. The Uttaramerur inscriptions discussed above emphasise the gravity of such offences as incest, adultery, theft, forgery and "riding on an ass"—probably a kind of punishment for some serious crime.

Ministrant. The Mahasabha performed other functions like the maintenance of roads and irrigation works including tanks (the major public works being executed by the central government as their construction was beyond the resources of local bodies), supervision of endowments (by the *dharmatariyam*), religious, medical, educational and eleemosynary, and provision from its own limited resources for learning etc. In short village life was well organised on popular lines conducive to the progress and prosperity of the people and it was such villages exhibiting corporate activity which existed though in a decadent condition early in the nineteenth century the 'little republics, the tiny states at the base' that extorted the admiration of sympathetic Anglo-Indian administrators. Between an able bureaucracy and the active local assemblies which in various ways fostered a live sense of citizenship there was attained a high standard of administrative efficiency and purity.*

Golden Age and Decline. The period from 921 to 1120 may be called the golden age of the Mahasabha and the reign of Rajaraja the Great witnessed its organisation in all parts of his extensive empire. The decline of the Mahasabha in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was brought about by the internal troubles of the Chola Empire in the former century and by its external diffi-

* Nilakanta Sastri *op cit* II p 212

culties in the latter century, coupled with the increased activities of *gramalanthakas* (village thorns or mischief-makers) There is some evidence of the intrigues of the officers of government with local factions and of undue palace influence in the working of village institutions *

SECTION XXVII SOCIAL LIFE AND CULTURE

Caste Besides the continuance of the caste organisation of society and the existence of the *anuloma* caste of *Rathakaras* (architects) and the *pratiloma* caste of *Ayogaias* (weavers), the division of the industrial classes into *Valangai* (right hand) and *Idangai* (left hand) castes prevailed According to tradition these two divisions originated in the time of Karikala Chola and it is said that once when two sections of the people placed their differences before that monarch they stood on his right and left and hence the names The *Idingai* caste in the time of Kulottunga III regarded its members as descended from the *agnilula* rice and therefore as belonging to Northern India, its 98 sub-divisions are mentioned in an inscription In later times the two castes quarrelled so violently that there was no love lost between them But in the Chola period there was co-operation among the various castes and sub-castes in social and religious life in spite of their rivalries exclusiveness special privileges and lack of such privileges

existed, and these are recorded instances of freemen becoming slaves in order to escape starvation

Agriculture and Industry Land was possessed by individuals and communities There were peasant proprietorship and other forms of land tenure Agricultural prosperity was ensured by special attention to irrigation The proper utilisation of the water of the Kaveri was supplemented by the construction of great tanks like the *Vairameghatalaka* at Uttaramerur The function of Mahasabhas with regard to the maintenance of tanks in good condition and the reclamation of forest and waste lands has been noted There were occasional famines, general and local, the visitation of 1152 seems to belong to the former category The jeweller's art reached perfection, and the proficiency of metal workers was largely due to the demand of temples for images and utensils The weaving industry of Kanchi became famous The manufacture of sea salt was carried on at Cape Comorin Marlanam (South Arcot District) and other places on the coast

Commerce and Coinage The *pennalis* or trunk-roads led to the Andhra, Western Chalukya and Kongu countries There were merchant guilds of which one was a gigantic organisation of an international character The normal rate of interest was 12½ or 15 per cent but the rates ranged from 5 to 50 per cent Promissory notes were in use The chief gold coins were *mada* or *pon* of 72 to 80 grains in weight (= *kalanju* or uncoined gold) and *lasu* (half a *mada*), but in the reign of Kulotunga III and after *lasu* was a copper coin of small value The gold silver and copper coins conform to two types (a) the Chola type with the tiger the Chera bow the Pandya fish and the royal name (b) the Ceylon type with 'a rude human figure' There was brisk commercial intercourse between the Chola Empire and China, Sumatra Java Arabia and other countries around the

Persian Gulf Three embassies were sent to China in 1015 1033 and 1077 Arabian horses were imported in large numbers in order to strengthen the Chola cavalry

Religion. The progress of Saivism and Vaishnavism in the Pallava period was accelerated under the Cholas and the Canon of both was fixed up In general harmony prevailed in the relations of the two sects Rajaraja I was well disposed towards both and his sister Kundava built temples for Siva and Vishnu at Dadapuram (South Arcot District) In many temples both gods were worshipped Still sectarian rancour occasionally exhibited itself as against Ramanuja and in the time of Kulottunga II An inscription of 1160 in the Tanjore District refers to a Mahasabha's resolution prohibiting the association of Saivas with Vaishnavas and prescribing confiscation of their property as the punishment for violators of the interdict As against such outbursts of intolerance Saivism Vaishnavism and Jainism flourished at Kanchi The Saiva ascetics like the Kalamukhas were influential in spite of their fierce bigotry and their disgusting practices like eating from human skulls and swallowing ashes the Kapalikas and the Pasupatas were similar groups The growing importance of *matras* is a characteristic feature of the period and they were concerned with religious teaching Above all temples became centres of religious and social life and the Tanjore temple set the model to the whole of the Chola country "As landholder employer and consumer of goods and services as bank school and museum as hospital and theatre in short as a nucleus which gathered round itself all that was best in the arts of civilised existence and regulated them with the humaneness born of the spirit of *Dharma* the mediæval Indian temple has few parallels in the annals of mankind * There were various seats of Jainism in the country from Trichinopoly to Kanchi

and the Jains contributed to Tamil Literature. Though Buddhism was not prominent in the Chola Empire, it existed at Kincel and Negapatam.

Education Besides village schools, mass education was carried on by discourses on the epics and the *Puranas* in temples and other places. There was ample provision for higher education. Besides the organisation of special courses in *Mīmamsā* and *Vyākaraṇa*, there were theological colleges in which several subjects were taught by a paid staff to numerous pupils. At Ennayiram (South Arcot District), a great Vaishnava centre, there were 340 students learning the *Vedas*, grammar, *Mīmamsā* and *Vedānta*, under 14 teachers, according to an inscription (c 1025) of the reign of Rajendra I. Both teachers and pupils received a daily allowance of paddy, supplemented by a money payment and the whole institution was maintained from the produce of 45 *velis* of land. Another inscription of 1048 at Tribhuvani, near Pondicherry, mentions a college of the same type with an endowment of 72 *velis* of land, among the subjects taught were, besides those mentioned in the previous record, the epics and the *Dharmaśāstra* of Manu, and the 260 students and 12 teachers were exempted from service on the committees of the local Assembly. A third record of 1067 provides for a college and for a hostel and a hospital attached to it, at Tirumukudal (Chingleput District), the pupils were fed, and supplied with oil for bath on Saturdays and lights for the night, the medical staff consisted of two doctors, two nurses and others, and there were beds for 15 in-patients, the hospital being provided with water from Perimbalur (Trichinopoly District), "scented with cardamoms and *khas-khas* (censeus) roots." An inscription of 1121 refers to a medical school at Tiruvaduturai (Tanjore District) teaching the *Saṃhita* of Charaka and the *Aṣṭaṅgahṛidayā Saṃhita* of the younger Vagbhata. Another inscription of 1213 mentions an institution for the study of Grammar at Tiruvorriur near Madras.

Literature The Chola inscriptions give evidence of the literary accomplishments of their composers and refer to some accounts of Rajaraja I and Kulottunga I which are not extant. The *Sūtrakasindamani*, a great classic of Tamil Literature, of Tiruttakkadevar, a Jain, probably composed in the tenth century, influenced Kambar. The *Kundalakesi*, a fragmentary Buddhist poem and the *Kalladam* of the poet Kalladanar were probably produced in the same century. Amidasagara, a Jain, wrote the *Ipparungalam*, a work on versification. Nambi Andar Nambi, the compiler of the Saiva Canon, is assigned to the eleventh century. The *Virasoliyam* of Buddhamiṭra, a grammatical treatise, was composed in the same century. Jayangondar's *Kalingattupparam* describes the second Kalinga war of his patron Kulottunga I and brings out the bright and seamy sides of warfare. Ottakkuttan a protegee of Vikrama Chola and Kulottunga II, praises them in his verses. The *Ramayanam* of Kamban the *Kavichchakravarti*, though based on the Sanskrit epic is an original work enjoying in the Tamil country an imperishable reputation like the Hindi *Ramayan* of Tulsī Das in Northern India. Pugalendi wrote the *Nalatenba*, a great poem dealing with the story of Nala. Selkilar's *Periyapurānam* or *Tiruttondarpuṣānam*, a work on hagiology, is a part of the Saiva Canon. *Dandiyalangaram* on poetics is an adaptation of the *Kaṭiyādarsa* of Dandin. The *Nannul* of Pīvanandi a Jain grammarian belongs to the reign of Kulottunga III. In spite of the existence of institutes of higher Sanskrit learning the contributions to Sanskrit Literature during the Chola period are surprisingly small. Besides the inscriptions in Sanskrit, there is the *Rigveda Bhashya* of Venkata Madhava (the great predecessor of Sayana, the Vedic commentator of the fourteenth century) who apparently lived during the reign of Parantaka I. Rajaraja II ordered the compilation of an alphabetical Sanskrit lexicon the *Anantārtha-saṁkṣepa* of Kesavasvamin.

Art The Tanjore temple and its imitation at Gangai-kondacholapuram are the best examples of the southern style which is characterised by unity of structure and predominance of the centre over the surroundings. The same qualities are found in the paintings of the former temple. The Nataraja type of metal image possesses high artistic merit.

SECTION XXVIII THE PANDYAS OF MADURA (Contd.)

The Chola Domination We have seen that Parantaka I Chola destroyed the Pandya independence and that Raja simha II fled the country about 920. But the collapse of the Chola power after the disaster at Talloklam in 949 caused trouble in the Pandya country leading to the overthrow of the recently established Chola authority. One Vira Pandya "who took the head of the Chola" triumphed for some time. It was during the reign of Rajaraja I that the Pandyas were reconquered; his victory was completed by his son Rajendra I's seizure of the Pandya crown from Ceylon, his appointment of one of his sons as the Chola Pandya Viceroy, and his construction of a great palace at Madura. But Pandya princes in alliance with Ceylon gave trouble to the successors of Rajendra I though his establishment of the Chola Pandya Vicerealty continued till the advent of Kulottunga I. The anarchy during Adhirajendra's reign gave scope for Pandya intransigence which was put down with a strong hand by Kulottunga I who changed the system of Pandya administration by Chola princes and established military colonies in the reconquered Pandya country but exercised no control over its internal administration. During the period of his successors there was the steady growth of Pandya power which was however paralysed by the outbreak of civil war about 1169 lasting till about 1177. We have sketched the Pandya wars of Kulottunga III who in spite of his success down to about 1205 had to succumb

to the military might of Maravarman Sundara Pandya about 1216. Thus was ushered into existence the glorious period of Pandya imperialism, which remained intact throughout the thirteenth century.

SECTION XXIX RELIGION

Decline of Buddhism. The decline of Buddhism in India during 600—900 proceeded further in this period, 900—1200. Its eclipse by the growing ascendancy of Brahmanism was tempered by its patronage by the Palas of Bengal and Bihar but their supersession in Bengal by the Senas diminished the Buddhist sphere of activity. Sindh had fallen under Arab rule but Nepal sheltered Buddhism though in a form mixed up with Saivism. The triumph of Kumarila and Sankara had contributed to its waning popularity, and it suffered severely during the destructive invasion of Bihar by Muhammad bin Bakhtyar in 1197. The monks fled to Nepal and Tibet and their followers gradually gave up their religion and became Hindus. In South India the increasing strength of Saivism and the growth of Virasaivism confined the influence of Buddhism to a few scattered localities.

Causes Alleged Persecution. Though Buddhism suffered to some extent from the violence of Pushyamitra Sunga, Mihiragula, Sasanka and Muhammad bin Bakhtyar, the Hun invasions in general were more injurious to it than a few persecutions here and there during more than thirteen centuries which intervened between the first and last persecutors. But the real decline of Buddhism began in the seventh century in South India and in the eighth century in Northern India. Its collapse under Muslim iconoclasm was the formal stage of its exit from India. The occasional bursts of some religionists should not be treated seriously. Generally speaking the great Indian rulers favouring all sects though with different kinds of favour. We come across members of the same royal family practising diverse creeds and some kings marrying

queens belonging to different denominations. Even under the Cholas persecution was exceptional. Barring some cases of bigotry and of proverbial zeal exhibited by converts, Indians showed their culture in a field where compromise has been found to be comparatively difficult. If religious toleration is a real criterion of culture, ancient India was the land of culture *par excellence*. Therefore the story of the expulsion of Buddhism from the country of its origin by persecuting bloodhounds is the offspring of a double misconception regarding the lessons of religious history in other lands and the trend of religious progress in India. The disappearance of Buddhism from this country was largely caused by its degeneracy, and it was non-violently superseded by emergent Brahmanism.

Decline of the Sangha Following Barth we may unmistakably discover the true cause of the decay of Buddhism in its "sheer exhaustion". The modest, pious and energetic wandering monks of the early days became in course of time fat priests attached to opulent monasteries, and instead of passionately preaching and appealing to the human heart, the later monks indulged in gerund grinding and logic chopping and in debasing Tantric practices. Scholasticism dried up spiritual energy, and the Sangha became steadily isolated from the laity, with whom it ceased to have any vital connection. So ultimately lay Buddhists became indifferent to the fortunes of their so-called leaders. As the Sangha had been the heart of Buddhism and the repository of its vitality from the very beginning the decline of the former was tantamount to the decline of the latter. The monastic institutions owing to their prominence became objects of attack by Huns and Muslims, and the destruction of *viharas* tenanted by decadent monks meant practically the ruin of their religion. In other words the degeneracy and exclusiveness of the Sangha with its spiritual enthusiasm extinct made its position untenable against the last dose of violence, and its limited lay supporters were

andifferent to its fortunes in the last days of its life in India.

Destructive Changes The transformation of early Buddhism into Mahayanism added new elements to it and made its appeal wider, but in some respects it was diametrically opposed to the teachings of the Buddha, whose gospel, as a natural reaction against the religious condition of his age, supplied a real need. So long as that message was not departed from the position of Buddhism was impregnable, though its appeal would be limited as in the analogous case of Jainism. But changes were made in Buddhism to suit the tastes of its multitudinous and heterogeneous followers, so much so that the Buddha himself would have found it difficult to recognise his religion and describe himself as a Buddhist. He recommended a short cut to salvation and envisaged *nirvana* as a near reality, whereas Mahayanism treated it as a distant goal to be attained in the long run and practically as an unattainable objective. He emphasised self effort and regulation of life by a strict ethical code with no dependence on the efforts of others, and discouraged all profitless speculation regarding the fundamentals of metaphysics, but Mahayanism leaned on the doctrine of transfer of merit, gloried in metaphysics and theology, and sanctioned the vain ceremonies interdicted by the Master and his true and ardent disciple *Asoka*. Therefore an element of structural instability was introduced by the abandonment of the Buddha's way and the earnest pursuit of a new *yana* (way or path), though the fundamental changes effected made the practically new religion popular and charged it with an expansive force. In course of time it resembled Saivism and Vaishnavism in many respects.

Brahmanical Religious Pressure In the meantime Brahmanism borrowed a good deal from Buddhism which consequently became a squeezed orange as it were and increased its own strength. Its cause was espoused by two men of remarkable ability and vitality *Kumarila* and

Sankara, the former emphasising the greatness of the Vedic religion and the latter combating the negativist tendency of Buddhism. The epoch of their activity—eighth and ninth centuries—elevated Brahmanism at the expense of Buddhism. After the incorporation in the oldest religion of some of the best features of Buddhism, it found its occupation practically gone. On the eve of the Muslim advent, it was a mere shell untenable against the new storm, and the destruction of the Buddhist edifices of Bihar (the land of V(B)ihara) the murder of the monks and the flight of the survivors to Nepal and Tibet completed the downfall of Buddhism in India. Though violence compassed its disappearance from this country, in reality it died a natural death in the land of its birth.

Influence of Buddhism Buddhism has contributed much to the intellectual, spiritual and social life of India. Its cosmopolitan outlook and foreign propaganda brought this country into contact with the rest of Asia for a long time. In the fields of art, literature, logic and philosophy, its notable achievements have been mentioned in their proper places. In the sphere of religion and social life besides the doctrine of *ahimsa* the aversion for animal food and the growing unpopularity of Vedic sacrifices may be mentioned organised religious propaganda and conversion, monastic life, image worship, temples, festivals and processions, pilgrimages to holy places, and gentleness and charity as due to Buddhist influence. The University of Nalanda is proof positive of the organising capacity, catholicity of outlook and passion for learning and sustained intellectual effort characteristic of Buddhism. "The cultural sympathy which the countries in Eastern Asia feel for India even today is entirely due to the work of the famous Buddhist colleges of ancient India."* Emphasis was laid by Buddhism on morality and the

* Altekar *Education in Ancient India* (2nd edition 1944), p. 233

status of women was bettered in some respects. A democratic social ideal was preached. No doubt discouragement of surgery, negativism in philosophy, and over indulgence in hair splitting argumentation may be counted against Buddhism. But it never pushed *ahimsa* too far as did Jainism. The charge that Buddhism was the arch emasculator of India is unconvincing as Buddhists during their best period were not cowards. The great victories of Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad of Ghor were won over non Buddhists, and the Arab and Turkish invasions of India synchronised with the marked decline of Buddhism.

Fortunes of Jainism Chequered Career Jainism was patronised by the Parmaras of Malwa and in some parts of Rajputana, and in Gujarat under Javasimha Siddharaja (1094—1144), and particularly under his successor Kumrapala (1144—1173) it attained pre-eminence, thanks to Hemachandra, the pious and learned Jain monk. In South India the Rashtrakutas continued their support to it, but later, during the period of Bijjala's usurpation the rise of Virasaivism undermined the strength of Jainism. The Gangas of Talakad remained attached to their creed and their tradition was continued by the Hoysalas till the conversion of Bittideva to Vaishnavism by Ramanuja. Jainism steadily lost ground in the Tamil country, though not to the extent that Buddhism did. Thus its ascendancy in Gujarat was modified by its chequered career in South India. But its losses were as inconspicuous as its gains had been limited and it never attempted conquest beyond India. Therefore its fortunes were in striking contrast with those of Buddhism. It took root in Gujarat and the Kannada country, but its expansion was limited in contradistinction to the gigantic growth of Buddhism.

Limited Growth The limited growth of Jainism was due to the exaggerated emphasis it laid on *ahimsa* and

asceticism Its severe discipline could never evoke a wide response. Though some changes were introduced into Jainism, such as the worship of images and settled life of the monks in monasteries its doctrines remained unchanged from the first century A D and particularly after the Council of Valabhi in the fifth century. Such an intensely conservative religion could not be expected to make extensive conquests.

Staying Power Again, unlike Buddhism Jainism has not disappeared from India, and its permanent place in the religious life of this country (there are now 1.25 million Jains—1931 census) is to be accounted for with reference to its closer relations, doctrinal and historical with Brahmanism than was the case with its rival Buddhism and to its perpetuation of old religious customs and institutions and its adherence to its original position as much as possible, so much so that it has continued to serve its ancient purpose without being superseded absolutely by Brahmanism. Above all, in contrast with Buddhism its clergy and laity have formed an organic whole and the latter have supported their Church in an admirable manner in times of prosperity and adversity. In spite of its fundamental disagreements with the oldest religion—its atheistic tendency and its philosophy of *syadriada* ("may be ism" uncertainty of truth)—it has been to some extent tied to the apron strings of its mother Brahmanism. Besides its contribution to Indian art and philosophy it has enriched Sanskrit and Kannada and in some measure Tamil Literatures. Hemachandra was one of the most prolific authors of ancient India.

Ascendancy of Brahmanism The lion's share of royal patronage was enjoyed by Brahmanism whose triumph was due to the exertions of Kumārila and Sankara who took advantage of the decline of Buddhism. Its weapons were dialectics the spiritual energy of dominant personalities and propaganda among the people and princes to secure their support to the oldest religion of the country.

and its orthodox offshoots. With a few exceptions already recorded the success of Brahmanism was pan Indian. In spite of the emphasis on the infallibility of the *Vedas*, sacrifices did not become conspicuous.

Vaishnavism The Buddhist doctrine of *ahimsa* was inherited by the Vaishnavas who regarded the Buddha as an avatar of Vishnu. There was no clash between Vaishnavism and Saivism and both were practised and patronised by the various dynasties of Northern India the individual dynasts professing either according to the proclivities. The Vaishnavism of Bengal gradually developed on peculiar lines, and towards the close of our period the ground was being prepared for what Sir R. G. Bhandarkar calls "Radha Krishnaism" or "the cow-herdess element of Vaishnavism" symbolised by the *Gita Gorada* of Javadava. Such erotic elements were not characteristic of South Indian Vaishnavism. The Narayana cult of Ramanuja and the Krishna cult of Pandharpur (Maharashtra) in the thirteenth century represent the purest and best aspects of Vaishnavism the latter movement regarded Vitthala or Vithala (Vishnu—Krishna) as the husband of Rukmini not as the lover of Radha. We have referred to the adherence of the Hoysalas to Vaishnavism from the reign of Vishnu vardhana.

adaptability produced and exhibited by reformed Brahmanism or Hinduism

SECTION XXX SOCIAL LIFE

Caste Regarding the four castes Alberuni in his *Kitab ul Hind* (1030) practically brackets the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas on the one hand, and the Vaisyas and the Sudras on the other, and says that these two groups lived together in towns and villages and in the same house in spite of their great differences. But this picture may be partly true of the Panjab in which Alberuni lived for a few years. The multitudinous subdivisions of the four main divisions in imitation of the increasing sub-sections among the Brahmins constituted the characteristic feature of the social life of the period under survey. The Kayasthas claiming to be Kshatriyas came into prominence as the writer caste and exhibited the same passion for social exclusiveness and subdivision among themselves. The same tendency is shown by the Vaisyas the Sudras and the untouchables and it was probably due to the strict prohibition of *anuloma* marriages (*pratiloma* connections had long ago been tabooed) to the growing differences among the people on account of dietetic preferences and to provincial migrations of the population.

Women Marriages were subject to all sorts of restrictions and the condition of women and widows did not improve. The bride-price was strongly and invariably condemned and the bridegroom price was not thought of at all before its prevalence in Rajputana after 1200. During the period under survey or a little earlier the examination of horoscopes of the bride and bridegroom became customary because of the great progress already made in astrology. The custom of *sati* was much in evidence in Kashmir and its popularity in Rajputana is characteristic of the period after 1200. But its influence in South India commenced during the period under con-

sideration. The position of the widow steadily deteriorated, though her right to maintenance improved her financial condition legally, and after 1200 the Bengal school of Hindu jurists did much to advocate her cause. By that date Hindu society had developed one of its greatest blots and sacrificed the happiness of an increasingly large section of women for reasons best known to the authors of their tragic fate. The *Purdāh* prevailed only among a microscopic minority of princely or aristocratic status but Muslim advent gave a powerful leverage to it. The conception of *stridhana* was enlarged by Vijnanesvara in the eleventh century so as to include all kinds of property and its history is "undoubtedly a proud and glorious chapter in the story of Hindu civilisation."

Illiberal Outlook. Reconversions to Brahmanism were not tolerated and many men and women who had been forcibly taken into Muslim society lost all hope of re-entering the Hindu fold—the stupendous folly of the Sastrakāris of the period. Alberuni was astonished at the attitude of the Hindus. This callous and unreasonable attitude has cost Hindu society very dearly. Even *anuloma* marriages and inter-caste dining were regarded with stern displeasure. Some other religious and social changes made during this age were the prescription of innumerable *vratas* (vows), the entertainment of dancing girls in temples & vice and the tonsure of widows. Some of the developments indicated above exhibiting a narrow and illiberal view of social life, destroyed the solidarity of Hindu society. In other respects social life remained the same as in the previous period.

SECTION XXXI CULTURE

The University of Nalanda. We have studied the condition of the University of Nalanda in the seventh century

* Allekār *The Portion of Women in Hindu Civilization* p. 276

† *Ibid.*, pp. 423-35.

It was probably patronised by Yasovarman in the eighth century. In the following century it secured the support of Devapala and Balaputradeva, the Sūlendra Emperor of Insulindia. In the tenth and eleventh centuries Gopala II and Mahipala I favoured Nalanda, and Ramapala and Govindapala in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But the Palas from the tenth century lived in troublous times and could not have done much for that University. Therefore Devapala must be regarded as the greatest benefactor of Nalanda after Harsha. The famous Professors of the eighth century were Santideva a Mahayana writer, Santarakshita who was the head of a monastery in Tibet during the last thirteen years of his life, Padmasambhava the founder of Tibetan Lamaism or Tantric Buddhism, Kamalasila Professor of Tantra who also served in Tibet and Chandragomin (different from the great grammarian) who wrote much on Tantric Buddhism and was well versed in several subjects particularly in *tantra* and logic. Viradeva, appointed by Devapala, belonged to the ninth century. Buddhavarman in the twelfth century was perhaps the last well known Pandit of Nalanda, "the Oxford of Buddhist India",* which was destroyed during the conquest of Bihar by Muhammad bin Bakhtyar towards the close of that century. Its international character is clear from its popularity among the peoples of India (chiefly Magadha, Samatata, Kanchi, Peshawar and Kashmir), Indonesia, Tibet, China, Korea and Japan. Its broad outlook and its passionate pursuit of knowledge remained intact during a number of centuries. It was a truly noble University, the rendezvous of scholars belonging to many countries of Asia from Turkey to Japan.

The University of Vikramasila The University of Vikramasila was founded by Dharmapala (769—815). Its site has not been definitely known, probably it was built

* Waddell *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* (1934), p. 24.

and the offence was expiated by Atiṣa's going to Tibet for preaching the *Mahayanadharmā*. Vikramasīla was a great University comparable only with Nalanda, though the former had a lesser number of students and did not enjoy the international reputation of the latter. Vikramasīla must have shared the fate of Nalanda towards the close of the twelfth century.

Odantapuri and Jagaddala Gopāl I founded the University of Odantapuri (town of Bihar), near Nalanda, in the eighth century, and the University of Jagaddala owed its existence to Ramapala, who established it in the eleventh century at his capital, Ramavṛti (at the confluence of the Ganges and the Karatova in Northern Bengal), but it specialised in the worst type of Tantrism.

Literature Tenth Century We have mentioned the literary activity of Rajasekhara at the court of the Gurjara Pratiharas. Another dramatist of Mahipala's court was Kshemesvara whose *Chandakaṣīla* and *Narashadhananda* deal with the stories of Viśvamitra and Nala. In the former, his patron is eulogised for his victory over the Karnatakas (Rashtrakutas). Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa, the protégé of Indra III Rashtrakuta composed the *Nala-champu* and the *Madalasa-champu*. We have referred to Venkṛta Madhava the Vedic commentator, who lived in the Chola Empire in the first half of the tenth century. Somadevasūri a Jain wrote a valuable *champu*, the *Yasastilaka* in 959, and the *Nīṭālayamrita*, based on the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya, but saturated with moral sentiments a very interesting work emphasising the incompatibility of the royal and ascetic roles and recommending *Lokayata* to kings. A second Aryabhata, mentioned by Alberuni lived about 950 differing in his astronomical views to some extent from his more famous earlier namesake. Bhaṭṭotpala commented on the works of Varāhamihira and the commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṅgita* was done in 966. He also wrote an independent treatise on the *Horasastra*. Towards the close of the tenth century,

gupta (1005) is of some value for the history of Sindhu-raja Paramara

Bilhana and Abhinavagupta Bilhana the Kashmirian wrote his *Vikramankacharita* before 1088. He was patronised by the Kalachuris Karnadeva I of Anhilvad, and chiefly Vilramaditya VI of Kalyani who honoured him with the title of *Vidyapati*. His historical epic eulogy is valuable for his third patron's history, and its main outlines are supported by inscriptions. His *Karnasundari* is a comedy dealing with the marriage of his patron of Anhilvad with Karnasundari. The *Chaurapanchasika* is his lyric poem on the joys of clandestine love. Abhinavagupta (1000) belonged to the *dhvani* school and his *Lochana* is a commentary on the commentary of Anandavardhana. He also commented on the *Natyasastra*. He was not only a writer on poetics and dramaturgy but also a philosopher. He was an exponent of Kashmirian Saivism, closely approaching to the Vedanta philosophy. In the first half of the eleventh century Kuntaka expounded *Valrokti* or figurative speech as the soul of poetry. Vijnanesvara's *Mistakshara*, the greatest commentary on the *Lagunatallyasmriti* has become authoritative throughout India except in Bengal, like all great commentaries it is practically a work on the model of the original. Chakrapandita a Bengali, commented on the *Samhitas* of Charaka and Susruta and wrote an independent work on curative medicine called *Chikitsasarasamgraha*.

Twelfth Century Sri Harsha and Kalhana. The Chahamanas Varmaharaja IV wrote the *Harshacharita* nataka. The *Harshacharita*, one of the six plays of Vatsaraja, the minister of Paramardi Chandella dramatises the famous poem of Bharavi. The *Prasannanagataka* of Javadeva the logician (c 1200) is symptomatic of the decline of Sanskrit drama. Mankha of Kashmir composed the *Srilantha charita* a minor epic poem on Siva's victory over the Rakshasa Tripura, it is valuable for its description of the

Sastraparishad (assembly of learned men) held at the court of Jayasimha, the Lohara king of Kashmir, one of his ministers being the brother of the author. Sandhyakara Nandin's *Ramapalacharitra* narrates at one and the same time the stories of the epic hero Rama and Ramapala of Bengal by employing words with more than one meaning. Dhananjaya produced the *laghatapandaviya*, which may be interpreted as the story of Rama or of the Pandavas. The *Naisadha* of Sri Harsha (different from Harsha of Thanesar and Kanauj) is regarded by Indian critics as a Mahakavya, but by Western scholars as a minor epic poem. Its author displays much ingenuity and cleverness, besides vast Sastric learning. He was patronised by Vijayachandra and Jayachandra Gahadavalas. He defends *Adaita* in a separate work. Jayadeva (distinct from the dramatist) was one of "the five gems" of the court of Lakshmanasena of Bengal. His *Gita-Govinda* is a lyric celebrating Krishna's love for Radha, their quarrels, and their final reconciliation. The erotic sentiments of the poem are interpreted in a spiritual sense by the orthodox. We have discussed the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, "the one historian of real merit in Sanskrit Literature" *.

Hemachandra. Hemachandra, the Jain polyhistor (1088—1172), converted *Kumarapala* of Anhilvad to Jainism and became his chief minister, he had been the minister of his predecessor, Jayasimha. During the last ten years of his life he produced the voluminous story of 63 best Jains including Mahavira, with its supplement the didactic *Parisishtapartan*, which relates the conversion of Chandragupta Maurya to Jainism. His *Kumarapalacharita* or *Dvyasraya laya*, the first 20 cantos in Sanskrit and 8 in Prakrit (about 1163), narrates the life of his patron, his conversion, his pro-Jain policy, etc., and illustrates the rules of Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar, it is of

* Keith, *op cit.*, p. 54

great value for the history of the Solankis of Anhilvad, but its author was too staunch a Jain to be a good historian. His *Logasastra* is a complete and lucid exposition of Jain philosophy and asceticism. The *Abhidhana-chintamani* is a great lexicon of synonyms, he further compiled, besides a list of botanical terms, a dictionary of homonyms. He wrote on Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar and on logic, metre and poetics. His *Laghu Arhanniti* condemns war, prescribes regulations regarding the ethics of warfare, and deals with civil and criminal law, it is a condensation of his treatise on the same subject in Prakrit. The incomplete *Prithvirajavijaya*, composed between 1178 and 1200 (different from the work of the Hindi poet Chand), probably by Jajanantha, a Kashmirian poet, is an account of the victories of Prithviraja III Chahamanas, who was finally overthrown by Muhammad of Ghor. The *Kama Sutra* of Vatsyayana and the works of some of his predecessors were utilised by Kolkoka in his work on erotics, the *Ratirahasya*. Mammata and Allata (about 1100) in their *Kavyaparakasa* support the *dhvani* school of poetics and criticise its opponents. Lakshmidhara, the minister of Govindachandra Gahadvala, compiled a digest of law, the *Smritikalpataru* and this branch of legal literature assumed importance from the twelfth century.

Ramanuja Ramanuja, the apostle of Vaishnavism and expounder of *Visishtadvaita* combined religion and philosophy. Born at Sriperumbudur (Chingleput District) he studied *Advaita* but gave it up and became the disciple of a Vaishnava teacher at Srirangam succeeding him in due course to the headship of the Vaishnava sect. He commented on the *Brahma Sutras* in his *Sribhashya* and on the *Bhagavad Gita* in his *Gita-bhashya*. He rejected the doctrine of *Maya*. "His chief aim the reconciliation of the doctrines of the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavadgita*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas* with his own religion and philosophy, was theological rather than

philosophical * Chola persecution drove him into Mysore where he converted the Hoysala Bittideva a Jain to Vaishnavism. Some time after his return to Srirangam he died probably about the middle of the twelfth century. His influence on the career of Vaishnavism was profound and far reaching and his place in Indian religious history is unique.

Nimbarka and Bhaskaracharya Nimbarka, who died about 1162, was devoted to the cult of Krishna and Radha. Though he was born in the Bellary District he lived mostly near Mathura. He commented on the *Brahma Sutras* and advocated the doctrine of *bhedabheda* (lit. difference without difference) a compromise between monism and dualism. The lexicographer Kesavasvamin enjoyed the patronage of Rajaraja II Chola. Bhaskara el *ar* *is Siddhantasironani* composed in 1150 represents the highest achievement of ancient India in Mathematics and Astronomy. Some regard him as the precursor of Newton in the discovery of the principle of the differential calculus as well as in its applications to astronomical problems and computations."

Art Three Styles The tendency of art critics in the classification of architectural styles is to prefer geographical nomenclature to religious or dynastic labels, and three styles are distinguished—Northern or *Vagara* (with provincial varieties) Southern or *Dravida* and Central or *Vesara* (Dakhan Hoysala or Mysore discarding the old term Chalukya) the first 'characterised by the bulging steeple with curvilinear vertical ribs placed over the sanctuary and frequently reproduced on other parts of the building' the second by 'a terraced pyramidal tower' and the third combining both characteristics and exhibiting peculiarities distinguishing it from the other styles. The sculpture of the age in stone and metal is expressive of Puranic and Tantric ideals, glorifying

* Macdonell op. cit. p. 149 † Smith *Ind. Art* pp. 114-15.

passionless asceticism on the one hand and superhuman power and passion on the other. In so far as it departs from the naturalism and humanism of early Indian art, it is condemned by Western critics but eulogised by some Indian critics as the climax of characteristically Hindu art, there is however no doubt that its appeal can never be wide or universal.

Northern The Brahmanical and Jain temples of the Chandellas at Khajuraho are good examples of the Northern style. The Mahadeva temple is full of sculptures, some of which are of an erotic character. At Mahoba have been found some Buddhist images—the Buddha, Tara, etc.—assignable to the reign of Kirtivarman. We have mentioned Udayaditya Paramara's temples at Udayapur and Un. The Jain temples of white marble on Mount Abu in Rajputana 'exhibit masses of sculptured decoration of the most marvellous richness and delicacy'. * We have surveyed Pala Art. The best and numerous illustrations of the Northern style are found in the Puri District Orissa. Bhubanesvar, Puri and Konarak. The Muktesvara temple at Bhubanesvar has been called 'the gem of Orissan art'. The Jagannatha temple at Puri is a little inferior. The Sun temple at Konarak belongs to the thirteenth century and is 'the most renowned achievement of the vigorous Orissan school of architecture'. The sculptures in all the three places are famous and some of them illustrate completely the postures described in erotic works. The sculptures of Bhubanesvar of about the tenth century illustrate fashionable ways of dressing the hair (coiffure) which are "so varied and graceful that even the most fashionable cinema stars of Bombay and Calcutta may immensely add to their popularity by imitating some of them"†.

Central Most of the temples at Anhilvad were destroyed by Muslims and the ruins of the Somnath temple

* Ibid p 127

† Altekar *op cit* p 360 and Plate VIII.

are extant, the Solanki buildings exhibiting the characteristics of the Central style. The Central or Dakhan style reached maturity under the Hovsalas at Somanathpur, Belur and Halebid in Mysore, and the temples in these places are famous for their ornamentation particularly the Hovsalesvara temple at Halebid, whose sculptures represent scenes from the *Ramayana*, about 2000 elephants, etc., with the result that "an infinity of superb decoration leaves no space uncovered and gives the eye no rest—one of the most marvellous exhibitions of human labour to be found even in the patient East." We have mentioned the statue of Gomatesvara belonging to the tenth century.

Southern The Southern style is exemplified at Tanjore and Gangukondacholapuram in the temples built by *Rajaraja I* and *Rajendra I* respectively. The former is "the best designed of all the great South Indian temples,"* and the central structure dominates the surroundings, whereas in later times the *gopuras* or gateways were developed so as to dwarf the central shrine. "Grandeur is achieved with very little loss of simplicity. All the decoration is subordinate to the outline of the main form"†. The paintings in the temple seem to be coeval with the temple itself and the central figure in many groups is surmised to be *Rajaraja* himself. *Rajendra I* followed the *Tanjore* model at his new capital. During

Kritya—Production Maintenance Destruction Embodiment and Release) which the symbolism specifically designates' *

CHAPTER IX

GREATER INDIA

SECTION I INTRODUCTION

Commerce and Dominion The foundation of Hindu kingdoms in the Indian or Malay Archipelago (East Indies Indonesia or Insulinidia) and Indo-China is an important chapter in early Indian History. It followed in the wake of peaceful commercial intercourse which contributed not only to the material prosperity of India but also to the dissemination of her religion and culture and to the amalgamation of Hindus with other races resulting in the development of a composite civilisation with Indian elements dominating for a long time. The establishment of Hindu kingdoms abroad did not give rise to imperial control from India whose colonial expansion was to some extent on the lines characteristic of the ancient Greeks. Imperialism developed in the new Hindu states but was confined to the colonial zone though occasionally it clashed with Indian and Sinhalese powers. We speak of Greater India in the sense in which modern historians refer to Greater Hellas or Greece in the period of classical antiquity.

Cultural Imperialism The spread of Indian religion and culture consequent on commercial penetration was accelerated by the growth of political and imperial power and thus Indian script, language (Sanskrit) ideas beliefs customs and manners obtained currency in the lands annexed to civilisation and progress by Hindu merchants missionaries soldiers and political adventurers. For

about fifteen centuries from about the beginning of the Christian era Indian enterprise effected a great change in the fortunes of Insulinidia and Indo-China and subsequently submitted to the onslaught of Islamic and other powers. Indian civilisation was gradually dominated by other elements and Indian tradition was broken except in Siam and Bali which continue to be largely Indian in culture even today. In the other regions which had been Indian before it is archaeological study by Dutch and French scholars that has been mainly responsible for our knowledge of the great Hindu achievement in Indonesia and Indo-China in the ancient and mediaeval ages. "India has laid her mark on all the great Far Eastern countries some of them received from her a substantial part of their religious and artistic culture, and others are indebted to her for their very existence as civilised states. Among the latter, Indochina comes foremost. Ancient Indochina was truly, as far as religious and political institutions are concerned, a daughter of India. This daughter, cut off at an early date from her home, has been in the course of centuries forgotten by her mother."

Insulinidia and Indo-China. We shall pursue separately the history down to A.D. 1200 of Sumatra (*Suvarna dvīpa*), Java (*Yavadvīpa*) Bali Borneo Malaya Siam Cambodia (*Kamboja*) and Southern Annam (*Champa*), the first four constitute Insulinidia and the last four (together with Burma) Indo-China, the first three and a large part of the fourth belong to the Dutch today a part of the fourth and of Malaya to the British and the last two to the French, the sixth being independent and the first four, though islands now were once a part of the continent of Asia, according to some scholars. The term *Suvarnadvīpa* is given a wider denotation by some who

* L. Finot, *Hindu Kingdoms in Indochina, The Ind. Historical Quarterly* (1925) p. 549

take it as synonymous with Malayasia or Insulinidia and Malay*.

Ethnology of Malayasia The inhabitants of Malayasia before its colonisation by the Hindus were Negritoes and Malays the latter racial element being predominant. The Malay language belongs to a group called Malayo Polynesian or better Austronesian, the Malays originally lived on the borders of China, but about 1000 B C were driven into Indo China by the Chinese. They migrated to Malayasia about 500 B C. But some scholars hold that they are racially connected with the Mundas and other related tribes of India and speak of them as having migrated from India towards the east and south east in consequence of the Dravidian and Arvan invasions of India. In other words the Hindu colonisation of Malayasia in the last centuries B C was the second stage in Indian colonisation which had started in the pre historic period. Further, the term Malaya is connected with the Indian tribal name Malava.

Pre Hindu Civilisation As regards the civilisation of Malayasia on the eve of the Hindu colonisation the inhabitants of Java were more civilised than those of the neighbouring regions and islands who were in a primitive phase of culture they had made substantial progress in industry and navigation combined with the rudiments of astronomy though some would add a few more items to this list.

SECTION II SUMATRA

Early History Sri Vijaya Though the largest of the islands of Insulinidia after Borneo Sumatra has now a population of only about 6 millions whereas Java (about one-fourth of Sumatra in size) is inhabited by about forty two millions. The history of Sumatra begins with its

colonisation by the Hindus in the third or second century B.C. The kingdom of Sri Vijaya (Palembang, South East Sumatra), though probably existing as an independent political unit from the fourth century A.D., became prominent only in the seventh century. Inscriptions of 683, 684 and 686 show that under Sri Javanasa a Buddhist, Sri Vijaya was a great political power which had annexed Malaya (Jambi Sumatra) and the neighbouring island of Bangka and was organising an expedition against Java (686). Itsing the Chinese pilgrim testifies from his personal knowledge to the political and commercial importance of Sri Vijaya towards the close of the seventh century, and to its fame as a centre of Buddhist learning. He stayed there for six months studying Sanskrit grammar. He observes "The Buddhist (Mahayanist) priests number more than 1000 whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in the Middle Kingdom (India)". Dharmapala of Nalanda visited Sumatra. Sri Vijaya held diplomatic relations with China between 697 and 742 if not earlier and had conquered Malaya by 775.

But most scholars hold that the Sumatran Kingdom of Sri Vijaya developed into the Sailendra Empire, which included not only Insulindia but also Malaya and Cambodia, and perhaps Champa for a short time. The Nalanda inscription of Devapala (815—854) of Bengal and Bihar, dated in his last regnal year (854), mentions two Sailendras—Balaputradeva and his father Samaragravira. The extensive and prosperous naval empire continued intact till about the middle of the ninth century, but between 869 and 879 Cambodia and Java became independent. Still the Sailendras continued to be the greatest imperial and commercial power till the end of the tenth century. About 990 the aggressions of Java against them were successful in the beginning but failed finally about 1003.

Relations with the Cholas We have seen the amicable and hostile relations between the Cholas and the Sailendras in the first quarter of the eleventh century. The triumph of the former about 1025 was a great blow to the latter, and the struggle between the two naval empires continued intermittently and indecisively throughout that century. The existence of the Sailendra Empire with fifteen dependencies in the twelfth century is vouched for by Chinese records and its dismemberment occurred in the following century. As Insulindian studies are now in their infancy, the genealogy and chronology of the Sailendras are in many respects uncertain and it is from Pala and Chola inscriptions that some definite information has been gleaned. In short we have more theories than facts about the great Indonesian Empire which was in a high state of efficiency from the eighth down to the twelfth century.

Religion and Culture The Sailendras were Mahayanists and their patronage of Buddhist religion and learning is clear from their connections with Nalanda and Negapatam and from the fact that Atisa of the Vikramasila University studied Buddhism for about ten years in

Sumatra in the eleventh century Their contributions to art are found in Java and belong to "the Sumatran period of Javanese history," and this is one of the surprises of Insulindian research. The identification of Yavadvipa (Java) with Sumatra by a few scholars has added to the uncertainties of the history of Sumatra and Java

SECTION III JAVA

Western Java Java is the most populous region of Insulindia, famous for the productivity of its soil, and its name Yavadvipa or "barley island" is significant. The reference to King Devavarman of Java in A.D. 132 in the Chinese records is adequate proof of the Hindu occupation of that island in the second century. Diplomatic relations with China were maintained in the second, third and fifth centuries. Fa hien, on his way back to China, stayed in Java for five months in 414 and witnessed the dominance of Brahmanism and the insignificance of Buddhism there. But soon after his departure from Java, Gunavarman, a prince monk of Kashmir, converted the king and his mother to Buddhism and proceeded to China in 424. Some Sanskrit inscriptions near Batavia (Western Java) mention King Purnavarman his excavation of a canal in his twenty second regnal year and his gift of one thousand cows to Brahmans thus proving the existence of a Brahmanical kingdom in Western Java and those records may be assigned to the fifth or sixth century. Diplomatic relations with China continued and Chinese evidence refers to a queen of Java in 675.

Central Java Mataram. A Sanskrit inscription assignable to the seventh century contains the symbols of Siva and Vishnu, and shows the prevalence of Brahmanism in Central Java. In the eighth century arose the kingdom of Mataram (Central Java) and King Sanjaya's inscription in Sanskrit dated in Saka 654 (A.D. 732) describes him as a great conqueror. He was a Siva who installed a

Sualingga and his record invokes Siva Brahma and Vishnu and states that his father ruled like Manu these details are proof positive of the establishment of Hindu civilisation in Central Java. From his inscription it is inferred that his family must have belonged to South India. Some regard him as the founder of the Sailendra dynasty but this opinion is not shared by many scholars. An inscription of 760 mentions the temple and stone image of Agastya.

The Sailendra Period Borobudur The period from 778 to 879 witnessed the inclusion of Java in the Sailendra Empire and during that century the Javanese dynasty of Mataram seems to have retired to Eastern Java. Under the Sailendras Java attained greatness and splendour in art. The Siva temples of the Dieng plateau are "characterised by a sobriety and dignity which reminds us of the Indian temples of the Gupta period"* *Chandi Kalasan* (temple at Kalasan Central Java), dedicated to the Mahayana Goddess Tara in 778 is the first Buddhist temple in Java. *Chandi Borobudur* and other edifices in its neighbourhood situated in the Kedu plain (Central Java) belong to the greatest period of Indo-Javanese (mostly Indian and partly Javanese) art†. The Borobudur (the many Buddhas" other explanations are given but the significance of the name is not quite clear) monument which may be assigned to the period 750—850 is "a hill in nine stages (nine terraces) an epic in stone the most wonderful Buddhist *stupa* in the world". It contains about 2000 bas-reliefs or stone pictures two miles long if they are placed continuously side by side illustrating the life of the Buddha as described in the Sanskrit *Lalitavistara*. As the pilgrim ascends the monument he gets the impression of a spiritual ascent the lower parts are rich in decoration whereas the upper

* Majumdar *op cit* Part II (1938) p. 176

† *Ibid.* pp. 197, 206 and 233-41.

portions are plain and unadorned, indicative of the Great Nothingness of Buddhist philosophy. Chandi Mendut near Borobudur contains an image of Avalokitesvara, which challenges comparison with the best Gupta sculpture. Still it is to be remembered that Buddhist art was a parenthesis in the development of Brahmanical art which preceded and followed it in Java. Therefore, though the subject is Buddhist "as a whole the Pallava and Chola sculpture is nearer to the Javanese work"*. Dr A. K. Coomaraswamy observes "The rich and gracious forms of these reliefs bespeak an infinitely luxurious rather than a profoundly spiritual or energised experience. There is here no nervous tension, no concentration of force to be compared with that which so impresses the observer at Angkor Wat. Borobudur is like a ripe fruit matured in breathless air: the fullness of its forms is an expression of static wealth rather than the volume that denotes the outward radiation of power. In the last analysis Borobudur is a monument of Sailendra culture rather than of Buddhist devotion"†. Dr V. A. Smith notes "A certain uniformity of effeminacy characterises the forms as it does some of the much earlier compositions of Gandhara"‡.

The Restoration Period. **Prambanan.** The overthrow of the Sailendra supremacy in Java resulted in the restoration of the Saiva dynasty of Sanjaya which continued in Central and Eastern Java till about 927, the last member of it being Wawa. Therefore this dynasty held Central Java from 732 to 927 for nearly two centuries including the period of its subordination to the Sailendras. The restoration period 879-927 witnessed the erection of many Brahmanical temples, the greatest of them being a group of eight temples at Lara Jonggrang (Prambanan).

* Smith *Fine Art* pp. 159-160. contra Majumdar *ibid.* p. 350.

† Coomaraswamy *op. cit.* p. 204.

‡ Smith *ibid.* p. 159.

Central Java), with the largest Siva temple in the centre and others dedicated to Brahma and Vishnu. These edifices on the hill are on the stupendous scale of Borobudur, not far from Prambanan and their sculptures illustrate the *Ramayana*. "The Prambanan reliefs are if anything superior to those of Borobudur, and certainly more dramatically conceived, and the aspect of the shingles, despite their rich ornament, is more masculine"*. Borobudur and Prambanan may be regarded as playing the classical and romantic roles in Indo-Javanese art. The Restoration Period further saw the beginnings of Old Javanese (called *Kawi* by older writers) Literature, a Sanskrit lexicon, *Amaramala*, was translated, and one of the masterpieces, the *Ramayana*, departing in some respects from the original of Valmiki, is assigned to this period, though some would regard the eleventh or thirteenth century as the age of its composition.

Eastern Java About 927 Eastern Java came under Sindok, who ruled over the valley of the Brantas river. He was a Saiva, and Tantric Buddhism existed in Java. His daughter who followed him on the throne about 947 was a Buddhist. Dharmavamsa brought the island of Bali under his authority. He pursued an aggressive policy against the Sailendra Empire. His initial success about 990 was nullified by his failure about 1003. His reign ended in 1007 with a calamity, the nature of which is not clear. He patronised the translation about 996 of the *Mahabharata* into Old Javanese and the composition of a legal treatise named *Sivasatana*. His son-in-law Airlangga (1019—1042) established his power in 1019 after many vicissitudes of fortune and had become supreme in Java by 1035. He executed some irrigation works and encouraged trade and commerce. During his reign a famous image of Vishnu supposed to be the portrait of the king himself was made and his protegee Kanva wrote

* Coomaraswamy op. cit. p. 206

SECTION IV BALI AND BORNEO

Bali Bali is a small island with nearly one million inhabitants. It lies to the east of Java, only a narrow sheet of water of about a mile and a half in width separating the two islands. Its people continue to be Hindus divided into four castes, even today. Its piecemeal annexation to the Dutch East Indies was completed in 1911, though the Dutch paramountcy had been acknowledged by it in 1839. In 1908 the last Hindu prince attempted to assert his independence, even after his failure he refused to surrender and died sword in hand along with his family. It was the spirit of the people that prevented the triumph of Islam in their tiny home though much greater powers had succumbed to its onslaught. The early history of Bali is unknown, but Chinese records throw light on Poli (identified with Bali with some probability) in the sixth and seventh centuries. Kaundinya is mentioned as the name of the dynasty ruling over it and an embassy was sent to China in 518. About 616 the king was a Kshatriya. The diplomatic relations with China were continued. I tsing refers to the prevalence of Buddhism in Bali. Therefore the Hinduisation of Bali must be dated earlier than the seventh century. The stone and copper plate inscriptions of the island from the eighth century in the Old Balinese language testify to its colonisation directly from India and not by Javanese Hindus. The first historical ruler was Ugrisenā, two of whose dates are known—915 and 933. A queen was reigning about 983. After the conquest of Bali by Java towards the close of the tenth century its culture was influenced by that of its conquerors. Its political subordination continued in the eleventh and twelfth centuries but it became independent in the thirteenth century after the extinction of the Javanese Kingdom of Kadiri.

Borneo Yupa Inscriptions Borneo the largest island in Insulinidia is about eight times the size of Java but its population at present is about three millions. It must

have been colonised by the Hindus in the early centuries of the Christian era as their civilisation was well established about A.D. 400 the probable date of the Munra kaman (Kutei or Kotei District, Eastern Borneo) inscriptions in Sanskrit on stone sacrificial pillars (*yupas*), which were erected in connection with a *bahusutarna* by Mulavarman, who presented the Brahmans with 20,000 cows. The *yupa* records mentioning him and his father and grandfather, Asvavarman and Kundunga prove the firm establishment in Borneo of Brahmanism with its characteristic sacrifices. In a cave at Kombeng (Eastern Borneo) have been found the remains of a wooden temple and stone images of Siva and Buddhist gods, probably belonging to the fourth century. The archaeological finds in Western Borneo as well tell the same story of the colonisation of the island directly from India, without the intervention of Java. During the subsequent centuries our knowledge of Borneo is confined to the references in Chinese records to its Hindu civilisation and its commercial relations with China. Towards the close of the twelfth century it came under the political control of Java.

SECTION V MALAYA, SIAM AND FUNAN

Malaya. The Hindu colonisation of Malaya may be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era and there was active commercial intercourse between India and China via Malaya in the second century A.D. Sanskrit inscriptions and remains of buildings prove the existence of many kingdoms patronising Saivism, Vaishnavism and Buddhism in the fourth and fifth centuries. Malaya was included in the Sailendra Empire of Sumatra in the eighth century. Hence Rajendra Chola I's expedition about 1025 to Kadaram or Keddah. The decline of that empire resulted in Javanese expeditions in the thirteenth century to Malaya which became a part of the great

Siam We have referred to the Austronesian race establishing itself in Malvasia the Chams of Champa belong to that group. The Mon Khmers, composed of two elements—the Mons of Pegu and the Khmers of Cambodia—occupied Indo China about 500 B C in the place of the Austronesians. The Annamites appeared in the north-eastern corner of Indo China in the third century B C. The Thai some time later (?) occupied the valleys of the Mekong and the Menam and established their political power in Siam in the thirteenth century A D consequent on the decline of Cambodia. The history of Siam before that century is very obscure. The Hindu colonisation of the country may be assigned to the third century A D. Siam was a dependency of Funan, the predecessor of the kingdom of Cambodia and of the latter. A Tamil inscription in Siam belonging to the eighth or ninth century mentions a South Indian trading corporation and the Menam valley was gradually Hinduised. The first independent king of Siam was a Thai chieftain with an Indian name, Indraditya. The Siamese Government changed the name of Siam to Thailand in 1939.

Funan In the first century A D Hindus mostly from South India established the kingdom of Funan in Indo-China. According to tradition, Kaundinya, a Brahman, was the first king. About 245 an embassy was sent to an Indian king called "Murunda," who returned the compliment by sending his representative to Funan. In the fourth century another Kaundinya is said to have improved the moral tone of the kingdom in which Brahmanism and Buddhism prevailed. In the following century Jayavarman (484—514) sent two embassies to China. Towards the close of the sixth century the extensive kingdom of Funan which had been in existence for about 500 years maintaining a navy, was overthrown by the vassal state of Cambodia.

SECTION VI CAMBODIA

Dynastic History Bhavavarman I Funan and Cambodia were colonised by Hindus at the same time, first century A D, and the Khmers of Cambodia became gradually Hinduised. The mythical founder of the royal line was Kambu Svavambhuva, and his descendants were known as Kambujas. Hence the name Kamboja or Cambodia. Srutavarman is regarded as the first historical king and his successor Sreshthavarman founded Sreshthapura, the capital. Rudravarman (about 570) is much enlogised in the inscriptions of Cambodia, and his court physicians were two specialists in *Ayurveda*, the brothers Brahmadatta and Brīhmasamha. Saivism and Vaishnavism made steady progress. It was under Bhavavarman I (about 590), who seized the throne of Cambodia, that it became independent and stepped into the place of Funan, which had been conquered by his brother Chitrasena. He assumed the title of *Maharajadhiraja*, founded a new capital at Bhavapura, and patronised Saivism and Vaishnavism. He was devoted to the worship of the *Sivalinga*, four of which were erected. Indian literature like the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas* was popularised, and recitations of these texts were organised. The conception of Sambhu Vishnu (Harihara) developed. All this shows the rapid progress of Brahmanism in Cambodia. Under the next ruler (604—627) Mahendrarman (known before his accession to the throne as Chitrasena, who had overthrown Funan) were established friendly relations with the neighbouring Hindu kingdom of Champa, his inscription of 604 is the first dated Cambodian Sanskrit record. An image of Siva Vishnu was made in 627. Brahmanical *asramas* were erected and Vedic sacrifices and monastic life encouraged under Isanavarman. Great sages like Isanadatta and Vidvayinaya flourished. In 639 Bhavavarman II installed a statue of *Devi* with four arms.

Jayavarman I and II Bhavavarman II's successor Jayavarman I (about 665) patronised Buddhism though he was himself a Saiva, and his court physician was Simhadatta belonging to the family of Brahmadatta, these physicians were ministers as well. During this reign another Harihara image was set up, indicating the growing popularity of the cult of Siva Vishnu. In the history of Cambodia, the eighth century is a confused period witnessing the disruption of the kingdom and its subjection to the Sailendra Empire towards the close of that century. Jayavarman II, who is said to have "come from Java" early in the ninth century was a great ruler. He is regarded by some as the founder of the capital Angkor Thom ("the great city"). Originally a Buddhist he became a Saiva and started the great period of building activity. The duration of his reign is given as 802—820* and as 802—869†. He must have freed Cambodia from the Sailendra yoke. The next great king was Indravarman I (877—889), who became famous for erecting Siva images and temples and *asramas* for Brahmanical monks.

Yasovarman Indravarman's son and successor Yasovarman (889—910) patronised learning and both Saivism and Vaishnavism and though a strict Saiva his minister was a Vaishnava. Rules regarding entry into temples prohibited admittance to men with defective limbs dwarfs lepers criminals strangers, etc! He beautified Angkor Thom or Yasodharapura with a palace and other buildings. He is said to have mastered the *Samhita* of Susruta. Rajendravarman (944—968) and his minister were Buddhists and Mahayanism obtained their substantial patronage. Jayavarman V (968—1001), with the help of his Brahman son-in-law Bhatta Divakara famous for his erudition and character promoted the fortunes of

* N. Dore *The Hindu Colony of Cambodia* (19th) p. 40f

† Majumdar *op cit* Part I pp. 157 and 159

Saivism and Vaishnavism At the court of Suryavarman I (1002—1049) lived many learned men like Yogisvara Pandit, Sivacharya, Sivavindu and Sanhara Pandit.

Suryavarman II Angkor Vat The next great ruler was Suryavarman II (1112—1152), and his guru Divakara Pandit was responsible for the construction of Angkor Vat (a corruption of the Sanskrit *nagarakata* or temple of the city), near Angkor Thom, the capital. It is a Vishnu temple on the Dravidian model with sculptures illustrating the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Hartamsa*. Some of the scenes depicted are Rama chasing Maricha, the battle between Vali and Sugriva, the fire ordeal of Sitā, Krishna raising up Govardhana, Kama burnt by Siva and the churning of the ocean, the last being "perhaps the most magnificent composition of all. In these gallery reliefs are combined a superb vitality and a complete preoccupation with the heroic theme as correlated and inseparable conditions, the Angkor Wat reliefs are thus spiritually greater than those of Borobudur. The planning is spacious and generous to a degree, everything is on a huge scale, and all in proportion. The last great monument of Khmer architecture may well be considered the finest. With Angkor Wat the history of Cambodian art is almost at an end." •

Jayavarman VII During the reign of Dharanindra varman II (1152—1182) there was a serious clash with Champa—minor conflicts had occurred before,—but his victory was not permanent. Jayavarman VII (1182—1201), the last great king was a Buddhist who won victories over Champa and Burma. There were 102 hospitals in Cambodia during his reign. The king's ideal is described as follows in an inscription: "The bodily pain of men became in him a pain of the soul and the more smothering, for it is the suffering of the state which makes the sufferings of the kings and not their own." Cambodia

declined in the thirteenth century consequent on the war with Champa and Siam. Siamese aggression started in the fourteenth century, and Angkor Thom suffered much in the following century and was given up by the Cambodians.

Religion and Literature. We have mentioned the prevalence in Cambodia of Saivism, Vaishnavism and Buddhism. Still the dominance of the first cult is abundantly clear. The Hinduisation of the indigenous population was a remarkable success. There were also minor Saiva sects like the Pasupatas. *Linga* worship was prominent. Gods were named after the kings. Besides the worship of Harihara and of the *linga* of Siva Vishnu, Ganapati, Parvati, etc., were venerated. There was the custom of offering books and slaves to gods. In connection with Siva worship, many South Indian works were prevalent in Cambodia. Further, inscriptions mention a number of *ticatises* and *sastras* the *Vedas*, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, Panini's grammar, the *Mahabhashya*, *Susruta Samhita*, Vedanta, Yoga, Nyaya, the *Arthasastra* and the *Dharmasastra*. In short, Hindus and Khmers became one people, and a distinctive Indo-Khmer culture developed though the civilisation of India was the predominant partner, Cambodia adopted Hindu ideas, political, social and cultural, though local modifications were inevitable.

SECTION VII CHAMPA

Political History **Vochan Inscription.** The kingdom of Champa corresponds to Southern Annam (French Indo-China, the name Annam originated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries), to the east of Cambodia and between it and the coast of the South China Sea—the coastal territory south of Hue. The Hindu occupation of the region must have been effected earlier than the second century A.D., when the first dynasty of Champa was founded by South Indians though a Northern Indian

name was given to the colony. The indigenous population the Chams, belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian racial group. The first ruler known to history Sri Mara, started his line about A.D. 190, the capital of his kingdom was Indrapura in the province of Amaravati or Northern Champa. The undated Vochan inscription of his successor, in Sanskrit and in a script similar to that of Rudradaman I's Gurnar record (A.D. 150) is assigned to the third century. Hence it is the earliest Sanskrit epigraph in Insulinidia and Indo-China the *in pa* inscriptions of Mulavarman of Borneo belonging to about A.D. 400. There were twelve Indian dynasties ruling over Champa. The first dynasty established Hindu civilisation in the country of the Chams and the Vochan inscription is generally treated as a Hindu record though some scholars* would regard it as a Buddhist document on the ground that the sentiments expressed in it are like those of Asoka. 'He said (the following) words beneficial to the people in the midst of his own kinsmen after having satisfied his sons brothers and kinsmen by enjoying wealth in common with them whatever silver gold, movable and immovable property and stores that I possess, all that I consecrate to those who are dear and near to me'†

Bhadravarman About 340 in consequence of usurpation the second dynasty was established and Bhadravarman (350—413) assumed the title of *Dharma Maharaja* patronised Saivism and built at Mison a temple to Siva named Bhadresvara after him. His son Gangaraja is recorded to have gone to Northern India and enjoyed the sight of the Ganges † perhaps the only instance in which we find an Indian colonist professing the Brahminical faith going to India on a holy pilgrimage ‡ His abdication led to the change of succession, and during the

* Elliot op cit I p. XXVIII III, pp. 103 and 123-39

† Majumdar *Champa* (1922) Book III pp. 23.

‡ Bose *The Indian Colony of Champa*, p. 40.

period—of the third dynasty (420—528) there were troubles from China. Rudravarman I the first member of the fourth dynasty (529—757), is described as a Brahma Kshatriya. His son and successor, Sambhuvarman fled in consequence of an invasion by the Chinese, who are said to have carried away 1350 Buddhist works. On the withdrawal of the latter he returned to his kingdom and restored the Bhadresvara temple which had suffered from fire during his father's reign. The fifth dynasty ruled from 758 to 859, its capital was Virapura in the province of Panduranga or Southern Champa. The Sulendras raided the coast of Champa between 774 and 787, plundering and destroying temples but the rulers of Champa soon recovered from the blow and continued their temple-building activities. Images of Siva, Sanlara, Naravana, Ganapati and Bhagavati were installed.

Indravarman II Indravarman II of the sixth dynasty (860—900), with his capital at Indrapura worshipped the Buddha, his inscription of Sala 797 (A.D. 875) records his foundation of a Buddhist monastery. His son, Jayasimhavarman I and his general Sivacharya patronised Saivism. Haravarman of the seventh dynasty (900—986) was a student of the six systems of Hindu philosophy and of grammar Hindu and Buddhist. He was devoted to the cult of Bhagavati whose majestic image erected by him was removed to Cambodia by Rajendravarman in 945.

Annamite Invasions The Annamites plundered and destroyed Indrapura the capital of Champa, in 982. The eighth dynasty (989—1044) was founded by the usurper Indravarman V (989—999) whose capital was Vijaya in the province of the same name or Central Champa. His successor transferred the capital to Indrapura in 999. In 1044 there was another Annamite invasion which resulted in the extinction of the eighth dynasty. The first member of the next dynasty (1044—1074) suppressed the rebellion

of Southern Champa in 1030. During the reign of Rudra varman III (1061—1074), there was a third Annamite invasion in 1069 and Champa was reduced to anarchy. Harivarman III of the tenth dynasty (1074—1139) defeated the Annamites and the Cambodians, and rehabilitated the kingdom of Champa and its capital Indrapura. His death in 1080 was followed by the self immolation of four of his queens and the disruption of the kingdom consequent on the accession to the throne of a boy prince Jaya Indravarman III (1139—1144) of the eleventh dynasty was a worshipper of the Buddha. Siva and Vishnu and his war with Cambodia ended in his death. During the period of the twelfth dynasty (1149—1318) Champa was decisively defeated and partitioned by Cambodia in 1192 and completely annexed in 1203. Though it became independent in 1220 it suffered from the attacks of the Mongols between 1278 and 1285 and ultimately succumbed to the Annamites in 1318.

Religion and Culture The Varmanas of Champa (divided into three provinces—Amaravati, Vijaya and Panduranga) ruled for more than 1000 years. The Chams became Hinduised and Champa was substantially transformed into a Hindu country, not only in religion and culture but also in customs and manners. In most respects the process of transformation may be likened to that undergone by Cambodia. Saivism was the dominant creed but there was no conflict between it and Vaishnavism and Buddhism occupied a subordinate position. The

of Narada and Bhargava, *Puranartha* (dynastic annals), and stories of the Indian epics. The art of Champa is inferior to that of Cambodia or Java. In connection with the images of Siva, the popular form was the *linga* of the ordinary type, though the *mulhalinga* and Nataraja types are found in Champa. The Bhagavati cult enjoyed much popularity. A few good images of Vishnu and the Buddha were produced, and Ganapati does not seem to have been a favourite god. "Though good imitators, they (the artists of Champa) were not creative artists so that their productions became inferior in quality and lacked expressiveness and gracefulness".*

SECTION VIII INDIA'S INTELLECTUAL SOVEREIGNTY

Indian Influence in Eastern Asia We have seen the influence of India in Western Asia and Europe. Though it was not great in ancient Egypt, Christian monasticism was modified by it to some extent. Heterodox Christianity benefited even more, and most of all Neo-Platonism. The Sufis of Arabia and Persia imbibed the Vedantic teaching. But Indian influence did not touch the roots of European civilisation, and Zoroastrianism and Islam were opposed to the infiltration of Hindu ideas in Persia and Arabia. Thus in Western Asia and Europe it was "sporadic and exotic. But in Eastern Asia the influence of India has been notable in extent, strength and duration".† In South Eastern Asia insular and continental, India's cultural role was predominant similarly in Ceylon, Burma and Tibet and in the last country the Mongols came into contact with Indian civilisation. In China, Korea and Japan, Indian cultural influence "appears as a layer superimposed on Chinese culture, yet not a mere veneer. In these regions Chinese ethics, literature and art form the major part of intellectual life. But in all especially

* *Ibid.*, p. 149

† Elliot, op. cit., I p. XII

in Japan, the influence of Buddhism has been profound and penetrating. Buddhism gave them a creed acceptable in different forms to superstitious, emotional and metaphysical minds. It provided subjects and models for art, especially for painting and entered into popular life, thought and language. * We have survived India's political and intellectual dominance from Sumatra to Champa and we shall now sketch the history of Ceylon and take a bird's eye view of the annals of Indian culture in Burma, Tibet, Central Asia, China, Korea and Japan. The great part played by India in the acculturation of Eastern Asia from Afghanistan to Japan and from Mongolia to Java and Ceylon is unquestionable.

SECTION IX CEYLON

Devanampiya Tissa. Ceylon is known as Lanka and Simhaladvīpa in Sanskrit, Tambapanni and Sihladīpa in Pali, Ilam in Tamil, Taprobane in Greek and Serendib in Arabic. We may dismiss the alleged visit of the epic hero Rama and of the Buddha to Ceylon as purely legendary and regard the story of Vijaya, the first king according to the Ceylonese Chronicles, as the traditional account of the spread of Aryan civilisation from Northern India, resulting in the amalgamation of the Arvaks with the indigenous people called the Yakkas. The Sinhalese language is related to Pali and the earliest script of Ceylon is derived from the Brahmi script. Vijaya may be assigned to the fifth century B.C. though tradition makes him contemporary with the Buddha and the foundation of Anuradhapura to the fourth century. The first historical ruler was Devanampiya Tissa (247—207 B.C.) the contemporary of Asoka who became a Buddhist thanks to the mission despatched to Ceylon by the latter. He built the Mahavihara monastery at his capital Anuradhapura and a stupa there.

* Ibid. p. XIII

over "the right collar bone of the Buddha," and planted a branch of the Bodhi tree (brought from Bodhi Gaya) at the capital where it has grown into "the oldest authenticated tree in the world now existing". The conversion of Tissa was followed by the popularity of Buddhism in Ceylon. During the second century B.C. the period of Elara's (Tamil) usurpation was characterised by good administration. It was put an end to by Dutthagamani (101—77 B.C.), whose national policy ensured the independence of Ceylon and the revival of Buddhism symbolised by the erection of two big stupas. The reign of Vattagamani witnessed the occupation of Anuradhapura by the Tamils from whom the capital was soon recovered by the king who erected the Abhayagiri *stupa* there and committed the Pali Canon to writing.

Gajabahu I The next great ruler was Gajabahu I (second century A.D.) the contemporary of Senguttivan Chera. He looms large in tradition and is said to have befriended the Cheras and exacted reparation from the Cholas for the harm they had inflicted on Ceylon during the reign of Karikala Chola. Mahasena (fourth century) built *stupas* and monasteries and became famous for his activities in connection with irrigation and the period from the fourth century to the sixth is regarded as "a great tank building age".

Meghavarna Mahasena's son Meghavarna (350—379) established friendly relations with Samudragupta and received the Tooth Relic of the Buddha from Kalinga. The next ruler Buddhadasa is said to have provided one physician for every unit of ten villages and composed a medical work in Sanskrit the *Sararthasangraha*. The fifth century is noted for the visits of Fa hien and Buddhi ghosha to Ceylon and the latter stabilised Hinayanism in the island. To the close of that century belong the paint

ings of Sigiriva ("Lion hill," near Polonnaruwa), characterised by "a penetrating sensuality, in good condition now in spite of exposure to the open air during more than thirteen and a half centuries—a reflection of the Gupta artistic achievement. Foreigners resided at Anuradhapura and Roman coins of the fourth century are found not only on the coast, but also at Sigiriva. The general prosperity of Ceylon during the first five centuries of the Christian era is clear.

Age of Prosperity During the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries Ceylon was disturbed by civil wars. Simhavishnu Pallava claims to have conquered Ceylon and Narasimhavarman I Pallava restored Manuvarma to the Sinhalese throne. During the reign of Sena I who ascended the throne about 820 Anuradhapura was sacked by the Pandyas but the tables were turned against them and their own country invaded by the Ceylon ruler Sena II who sacked Madura. From this time Polonnaruwa (south east of Anuradhapura) became the capital. About 920 Rajasimha II Pandya took refuge in Ceylon after the conquest of Madura by Parantaka I Chola who invaded Ceylon but failed to achieve his objective of seizing the Pandya crown jewels. About 959 the Chola general was defeated and killed—"the last success of the Sinhalese for many a long year".* With regard to the ninth and tenth centuries it may be said that 'on the whole the general impression left on the mind is one of prosperity, perhaps more solid than that of the superficially more brilliant reign of Parakramabahu I.†

Rule of the Cholas Rajaraja I Chola's annexation of Northern Ceylon including Polonnaruwa was implemented by the crowning triumph in 1018 of his son and successor Rajendra I who seized the paraphernalia of Pandya royalty which had been in the keeping of the Ceylon ruler

* *Ibid.* pp. 39-40

† *Ibid.*, p. 42

Mahinda V This period of Chola rule in Ceylon witnessed the erection of many Saiva and Vaishnava temples, the exhibition of the mailed fist in the maintenance of that rule in spite of attempts to liberate the island, was characteristic of the policy of Rajadhiraja I and Virarajendra I Vijayabahu (1056—1111) took advantage of the Chola anarchy before the accession of Kulottunga I, captured Polonnaruwa about 1070, crowned himself king of Ceylon in 1073, and became independent of the Cholas Kulottunga I made peace with him in 1088 Vijayabahu revived Buddhism with the aid of monks from Pegu and housed the Tooth Relic of the Buddha at the capital

Parakramabahu the Great Parakramabahu I or the Great (1153—1186) overcame the internal troubles consequent on the death of Vijayabahu and ruled over the whole of Ceylon In 1165 he came into conflict with the king of Pegu in connection with the elephant trade and sent a punitive naval expedition on account of the forcible detention in Pegu of a Ceylonese princess on her way to Cambodia He interfered in the Pandya civil war which broke out about 1169 His general Linkapura triumphed in the beginning, but ultimately came to grief There were further Ceylonese interventions in Pandya affairs and clashes with the Cholas to whom Parakramabahu gave a lot of trouble He did much for religion he created harmony among warring sects purified Buddhism and built many stupas and monasteries He strengthened the defences of Polonnaruwa and beautified it with palaces and gardens His canals and tanks increased the irrigation facilities of Ceylon Though his wars and buildings depleted the treasury and necessitated heavy taxation his glorious reign saw "the zenith of Sinhalese greatness" Though there is some doubt about its identity his statue 11½ feet in height "one of the finest sculptures in Ceylon, represents a dignified bearded sage reading from a palm

leaf book "" Nissankamalla (1187--1196) and Kulottunga III Chola claim victories over each other, but the former seems to have been in possession of Rameswaram for some time, and claims to have invaded the Pandya country thrice. He appropriates to himself some of the achievements of his predecessor Parakramabahu the Great, but there is no doubt that he deserves credit for some public works. His death was followed by internal troubles and political confusion. It is to be noted that "1200 is the first definitely fixed date in Ceylon history ""†

Art. Though Ceylon was a political dependency of South India only for short periods, except during the eleventh century, it was throughout a cultural appendage of India, it was subject to Indian influence from age to age. We have mentioned the buildings, paintings and other works of art. The metal image of Pattinidevi (Chaste Goddess) reminding us of the days of Senguttuvan Chera and Gajabahu I, "compares well in æsthetic value with the Indian Sultanganj Buddha and is far superior to the 12th century sculptures (of Ceylon). The drapery, below the waist, is very sensitively realised, the material clinging closely to the limbs in Gupta style ""‡ This sculpture is conjecturally assigned to the tenth century. The copper images of Hindu gods and goddesses, Saiva and Vaishnava, and of Tamil saints like Appar, Sundarar, Sambandar and Manikkavasagar, are worthy of note, "some of the Saiva saints are superior to any South Indian examples, but all the figures are in Dravidian style ""§ These have been found at Polonnaruwa and are assignable to the period before 1300.

SECTION X. BURMA

Non Indian and Indian Elements. The Pyus and other Tibeto-Burman tribes of the Mongolian race were in

* Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pp 164-65

† Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 67

‡ Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 167

§ *Ibid*

occupation of Upper Burma, and the Mons or Talangs, a branch of the Mon Khmers, in Lower Burma, about 500 B.C. Other elements like the Shans, allied to the Thai of Siam, contributed later to the racial composition of the Burmese. By about the first century A.D. Indian colonies or influence had been established at Tagaung, Prome and Thaton i.e., throughout Burma. By the fifth century the last two places had become great centres of Saivism, Vaishnavism, and Buddhism, Mahayana and Hinayana.

Glory of Pagan Indian influence reached Burma from Northern India overland and from South India by sea. In the fifth century Buddhaghosha visited Thaton and strengthened Hinayanism. In the eighth century the Vikrama dynasty ruled over Prome, whose fall early in the next century was followed by the foundation in 849 of Pagan near the junction of the Irrawaddy and the Chindwin. The dynasty founded by Anawrahta lasted from 1044 to 1287 when Pagan was destroyed by Kublai Khan. This dynasty of temple builders made Burma a united kingdom established Hinayanism, "one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known,"* and contributed to the artistic glory of Pagan. More than 5000 pagodas or temples can be counted from their ruins today. Most of them are brick edifices and some of them are famous for their sculptures and wall paintings, illustrating the life of the Buddha and revealing extensive Indian influence which however declined from the thirteenth century.

* SECTION XI TIBET

Lamaism Till the seventh century A.D. the people of Tibet lived in the prehistoric stage of civilisation and were rapacious savages and reputed cannibals without a written language and followers of an animistic and devil-dancing or Shamanist religion the Bon resembling

* G. F. Harvey *History of Burma* (1925) p. 70

in many ways the Taoism of China,' * In that century King Sron Tsan Gampo introduced Buddhism into his country, and the Tibetan language was made a written one. His Chinese and Nepalese queens were Buddhists who contributed to the conversion of their royal husband. After his death about 650 Buddhism met with local opposition for nearly a century. King Detsan, acting according to the advice of his preceptor Santariksita, invited Padmasambhava, both connected with the University of Nalanda, to Tibet in 747 with the result that Lamasism was established— a priestly mixture of Saivite mysticism, magic and Indo-Tibetan demonolatry overlaid by a thin varnish of Mahayan Buddhism. † Padmasambhava receives worship today in Tibet as the second Buddha.

The Tibetan Augustus In the latter half of the ninth century King Ralpachan, the Augustus of Tibet, appointed a number of Indians and Tibetans to translate the Buddhist scriptures and the works of Nāgārjuna and other writers into Tibetan and initiated the system of recording public events chronologically. Atisa, the Vice-Chancellor of the Vikramasila University, proceeded to Tibet in 1038 after repeated invitations reformed Lamasism and watched its progress till his death in 1053.

Goddess Manipadma, some perceiving Manichæan influence in it. Though Lamaism or Tantric Buddhism was borrowed from India, it underwent peculiar transformations in Tibet. 'The extraordinary figures of raging fiends which fill Tibetan shrines suggest at first that the artists simply borrowed and made more horrible the least civilised fancies of Indian sculpture, yet the majesty of Tibetan architecture gives another impression. The simplicity of its lines and the solid, spacious walls unadorned by carving recall Egypt rather than India'."

SECTION XII CENTRAL ASIA

Exploration Central Asia includes the basins of the Oxus and the Tarim, and the latter region called Chinese Turkistan or Seindia, now mostly a desert containing a few oases, was in ancient times "a receiving and distributing centre" of religion and culture. The discovery of the Bower Manuscript of Sanskrit medical texts in Gupta script in 1891 near Kuch (fourth or fifth century A D) gave a stimulus to archaeological exploration, besides many prescriptions for prolonging life given by the Buddhist author of that work, the high medicinal value of garlic is stressed, and the medical authors quoted are Bheda Susruta etc. In 1892 was discovered near Khotan by the French archaeological mission a Prakrit version of the *Dhammapada* in the Kharoshthi script, assignable to the second century A D. Regular exploration was initiated by Sir A. Stein on behalf of the Government of India. Three expeditions were led by him in 1900—1 1906—8 and 1913—16. In the meantime, the other archaeological missions German, Russian Japanese and French had also been working in the same region.

Manuscripts and Monuments The manuscripts and inscriptions discovered are in twelve languages including two new languages one being the language of the Sakas.

proceeded to China from Java and served Buddhism there by his paintings and translations.* In the latter half of that century Buddhist art developed, in 471 a colossal image of the Buddha was made. The Emperor Wu Ti (502—549), "the Asoka of China" in the sincerity of his Buddhist convictions, issued an edict prohibiting animal slaughter. He donned monastic robes thrice and lived the life of a monk, eschewing meat and discoursing on the Buddhist scriptures. About 520 he received Bodhidharma, an Indian monk, who emphasised *dhyana* or meditation and waxed eloquent on the futility of reading the sacred books, translating them, or building temples, but the emperor was disappointed. His mission to Magadha in 539 came back in 546 with a large number of manuscripts and with Paramartha, the biographer of Vasubandhu, who translated them in twenty years.

Indian Influence Under the Tang (620—907) and Sung (960—1127) dynasties, Chinese art, literature and philosophy were influenced by Buddhism particularly landscape painting, during the period of the latter dynasty by the contemplative school founded by Bodhi dharma. Buddhism not only provided subjects like the death of the Buddha and Kuan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy, which hold in Chinese art the same place as the crucifixion and the Madonna in Europe, and generation after generation have stimulated the noblest efforts of the best painters. It also offered a creed and ideals suited to the artistic temperament: peace and beauty reigned in its monasteries; its doctrine that life is one and continuous is reflected in that love of nature, that sympathetic understanding of plants and animals, that intimate union of sentiment with landscape which marks the best Chinese

pictures. * The great thinker, Chu Hsi (1130—1200), who commented on the works of Confucius, accepted to some extent the doctrine of *karma*, and was influenced by other Indian ideas, though he was the expounder of Neo-Confucianism. The encyclopaedic Chinese *Tripitaka*, printed in 972 with a preface by the emperor, represents eight schools of Buddhism and includes texts on the Sankhya and Vaisheshika philosophies and even lexicographical works whose originals in some cases are not found in India.

SECTION XIV KOREA

Buddhadharma Buddhism entered Korea in A.D. 372. About 450 the doctrine of *triratna* was established throughout the kingdom, and by the middle of the next century an ecclesiastical organisation had come into existence, and a king and a queen had donned monastic robes. Buddhism flourished in Korea from the sixth to tenth centuries. In 538 a king of Korea sent a statue of the Buddha and some Buddhist books to the emperor of Japan in order to secure his friendship and alliance with the following message: "*Buddha dharma*, the most excellent of all laws, which brings immeasurable benefit to its believers had been accepted in all lands lying between India and Korea."

SECTION XV JAPAN

Shintoism and Buddhism Buddhism was introduced into Japan in or before A.D. 552†. Shotoku (593—622) "the Constantine of Japan, made Buddhism the state religion, secured the services of Korean monks to teach astronomy and medicine to his subjects and sent Japanese students to China to learn Buddhism. Bodhisattva an

* Elliot, *op cit.*, III p. 243.

† Elliot, *Japanese Buddhism* (1935) p. 197

Indian monk described as "the Brahman Bishop of Japan," proceeded there from Champa and laboured here from 736 to 760. During that century Buddhism became firmly established throughout the country. Japanese art and philosophy developed under Buddhist influence. Many sects came into existence in the ninth century, most of them being Mahayanist. Ultimately the old animist religion, Shintoism, stood transformed, and the old gods were treated as incarnations of the Buddha.

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